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A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:

COMPILED FROM ITS STANDARD RECORDS,

AND

*Other Authentic Sources.*

BY

WILLIAM R. WAGSTAFF, M.D.

PART I.

NEW YORK & LONDON:  
WILEY AND PUTNAM.

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1845.

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DEDICATED

TO

MY MOTHER.

W. R. W.

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## P R E F A C E .

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ALTHOUGH Friends have many ably written Records of the rise and progress of their Society, yet they are, as is well known, in a great measure unadapted to general reading, either from their quaintness, or their verbosity of style. This readily accounts for the acknowledged ignorance of the Society, as to its history, and especially the youth, who deem it a severe task, instead of a pleasure, to ponder over its pages, where they might with advantage reflect on the character and lives of those men, who, though they did not dazzle the eyes of mankind with any brilliant schemes of worldly ambition, ennobled themselves and the human family, by raising and supporting the standard of Christ within, as the bulwark of pure religion.

After some reflection, I have been induced to suppose that vast benefit would accrue to the Society, if a compendious and modern history of it were published ; incited by this consideration, I was not discouraged by the prospect of the laborious undertaking, from engaging, during the hours of relaxation from an arduous profession, in the task of collecting and digesting the materials necessary for such a work.

The authorities and works from which I have selected the matter for this Book, are those of the standard historians and primitive members of the Society.

If I have succeeded in my endeavors, and judiciously availed myself of the materials within my reach ; if the work answers the expectations of my friends, and causes satisfaction and profitable reflection to my readers in general, my design in undertaking it will not be altogether unanswered. It will be noticed that this Book is entirely devoted to transactions on the other side of the Atlantic, it being my design, at some period not very far distant, should my life and health be spared me, to produce another Work similar, and being Part II. of this, containing a full account of the trials and privations to which the Society were subjected in this Western World.

W. R. W.

NEW YORK, 2d Mo., 1845.



## INTRODUCTION.

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### THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH PRIOR TO GEORGE FOX.

THE history of the Christian Church, presents the record of a conflict, which, for eighteen centuries, has been waged within her bosom, between two opposing principles.—These antagonistic principles are *Spirituality* and *Formalism*; the one, divine in its origin, and addressing itself to the highest part of our nature; the other, earthly in its source, and finding an ally and a slave in the gross and sensual propensities of the human soul.

Heathenism presents a melancholy instance of the workings of the formal principle, when the divine and life-giving spirit has become extinct. Those noble religious truths which occasionally shine forth in the writings of some of the early Heathen, are the fragments of a primitive revelation from the Divine Spirit to the souls of those holy men, who lived in the first ages of the world. But their posterity, while they maintained the forms of worship, ceased to abide in its spirit; the divine life died within them, and their communication with heaven was soon cut off; and the dim twilight of traditionary knowledge gradually deepening into a profound and starless midnight, they finally sank into all the stupid and debasing practices of an idolatrous superstition. Then came to pass that saying of Paul, "Because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, but became vain in their imagina-

tions, therefore their foolish hearts were darkened ; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things." This view is supported by the fact that the golden age of heathenism is in the distant past, its progress is a downward one, it waxes worse and worse as we come down from the morning of time ; it is like a body in which the vital principle is extinct, and in which there is nothing to arrest its tendency to corruption and decay. In the moral degradation of heathen lands, we can therefore behold a sad exhibition of the complete triumph of dead form over spiritual life.

In the Christian Church, all the changes which have transpired since the days of its founder, may be referred to the temporary predominance of one of these principles over its antagonist ; but as we recede from this day, formalism is seen gradually to triumph, until, at length, the spiritual seed are almost extinct, and the formal principle, personified in the Roman Pontiff, lords it over the debased nations in all the plenitude of priestly despotism.

A view of some of the principal phases of this conflict will form an appropriate introduction to the history of that people, whom God has raised up in these latter days as witnesses for the truth. Such a sketch must of course be very general and imperfect. Indeed, its object is not so much to inform as to remind ; it simply proposes to conduct the reader through scenes with which he is presumed to be already familiar, and it therefore merely notices some of the more prominent objects, leaving the minuter details associated with them to be called up for their illustration by the reader's memory.

Before we speak of the Great Author of the new dispensation, or follow its first preachers in their widely extended labors, it will be well to glance briefly at some circumstances in the state of the world at that time, highly favorable to the spread of Christianity, and its general reception. All previous events had doubtless a preparative bearing upon the set-

ting up of a spiritual kingdom in the fulness of time ; but Divine Providence had especially chosen the Romans as the instruments of preparing the world for the planting of the seed of life. All the ancient monarchies had successively fallen before the irresistible prowess of their victorious legions ; the boundaries of the civilized world had also been greatly extended by the subjugation of many barbarous tribes, so that the city of the Cæsars was the metropolis of the nations ; and the many avenues of communication from the centre to the wide circumference of this vast dominion, opened so many highways for the gospel to reach the most distant hamlets of men, with the joyful message of salvation. The Roman conquests had also broken down another obstacle to the spread of truth which might have proved insuperable ; they had in a measure obliterated national partitions, and with them national jealousies ; the word "stranger" had ceased to be the synonym of enemy, and, as members of one universal empire, the nations of the earth began to regard and greet each other as brethren. Another circumstance, highly favorable to the diffusion of a knowledge of Christianity, was the existence of a language understood more or less over the whole globe ; the Greek tongue was in almost universal use, not only as the language of letters, but also of commerce and familiar conversation. Cicero remarks in one of his orations, that the Greek was read in almost every land—"græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus;" and how well the Apostles availed themselves of this fact, appears from the circumstance that all the New Testament scriptures were written in that tongue.

But Providence had employed Rome not only to give the truth access to the ear of mankind, but also to prepare a way for its cordial and permanent lodgment in their hearts. She had been the unconscious instrument of causing heathenism to lose, in a great measure, its former hold upon the confidence and affections of the people ; so that now it depended for the prolongation of its existence almost solely upon the selfish exertions of the priesthood, and its alliance with the

state. The religions of the old world were strictly local religions : every state had its own divinities, who watched over its welfare with an exclusive care ; who infused wisdom into its council ; who granted victory to its arms ; and who bestowed upon the labors of peaceful industry a rich and bountiful reward. One very essential element of the religious sentiment was patriotism : they loved their altars for the same reason that they loved their firesides ; they revered and propitiated their gods, because they were attached to their institutions, and the worship of the one was co-terminous with the boundaries of the other. This element of religious feeling was abstracted by Rome, when, breaking down national partitions, and obliterating national prejudices, she brought all the tribes of men within the pale of an universal citizenship. Mankind now began to feel their need of a more universal religion—a religion more congenial with the new relation into which they had been brought with one another—a religion whose claims upon their spirits should rest upon the foundation, and whose spiritual gift and promise should satisfy the wants of their common humanity. Such a religion Rome attempted to fabricate, by amalgamating the various local systems into one, which should be universal. She allowed each nation to retain its own god, but she introduced beside these those which were foreign. But this attempt to prop up heathenism, only accelerated its fall ; for in these different religious systems which she thus sought to amalgamate, men saw nothing but the contradiction and opposition of conflicting errors. The old national conviction was shaken, and that religious enthusiasm, which had its root in patriotism, became extinct ; and as the nations looked upon the confronted rabble of divinities which filled the Roman Pantheon, it was with scepticism and apathy.

The more cultivated and reflecting had long before betaken themselves to philosophy, by which they had sought to give a spiritual consistency to the literal absurdities of the popular mythologies. But in the new state of things, these systems were also confronted ; and exhibiting nothing but opposition

of sentiments, their adherents, bewildered and lost in their inquiries after truth, began to question its existence. Many therefore sank into a cheerless, heart-freezing atheism; others contented themselves with a shallow, lifeless deism; while others, who felt in the world an Infinite Spirit, yet questioned his personality, embraced a pantheism, which confused the Creator with the works of his hand.

But man has a religious nature; and he cannot, for any length of time, stifle that desire for intercourse with heaven which his Maker has implanted in his bosom, and in the gratification of which he can alone find satisfying enjoyment. Truth also is the natural aliment of the soul; and it is only in the believing apprehension of certain great principles as true, that the moral consciousness of man can find satisfaction and repose.

This led some thinking and single-minded men, as early as the time of Christ, to abandon all the existing systems of philosophy, as systems, and to form a new one, by choosing from all such parts as wore the semblance of truth. This new philosophy obtained, at a later period, the name of Eclectic Platonism, the spiritual doctrines of that great teacher being the basis of the system. This philosophy, by teaching its disciples to recognize and embrace the truth, wherever found, and by exciting and encouraging a more spiritual frame of mind, constituted a very important preparation for the spread of Christianity. It led men to the consciousness of possessing a god-like nature akin to the Divinity, and it taught them to recognize in this life a state of preparation for a higher existence, where the soul, freed from all moral and intellectual infirmity, should spend its immortality in the perfect contemplation and enjoyment of the truth. These indefinite but sincere and ardent desires after spiritual knowledge which it awakened, but was unable fully to satisfy, led its disciples to long for some heavenly revelation, which, like Christianity, should be placed beyond all doubt, and which, amid the tempestuous strife of human

opinions, might afford a calm and secure resting-place for the weary spirit.

It is true that the philosopher was slow to recognize such a revelation in the crucified Nazarene. Too often he rejected the spiritual bread for which his soul was famishing, because the hand that proffered it was the hand of an illiterate Jew. The severe and lofty morality of the Gospel also met with a cold reception from his carnal inclinations; that which he had contemplated and admired, was an intellectual abstraction; but here was a system which brought his heaven to earth, which reduced his ideal to practice; which inculcated a life of self-denial and self-mortification, and required him to sit down like a little child at the feet of Christ; so that too often, he whom his better judgment would have made a convert to the new faith, was changed by his pride and passions into its bitter, unrelenting persecutor. Still, there was in Christianity a divine beauty and power which all the pride of human reason, and all the opposition of human depravity, could not long withstand; so that on the whole those more spiritual views of religion and that deep sense of inward want, which this system had taught and engendered were a real and most important preparation for the final predominance of the Christian faith.

There is yet another people whose religious state, at the period of which we are speaking, demands our consideration. This is that peculiar people whom the God of heaven had chosen as the medium of that revelation of himself which, in the fulness of time and in a more spiritual form, was to be imparted by them to the Gentiles. In the Jewish religion we find in broad contrast to the debased tribes of the most enlightened pagan nations, the idea of one holy, almighty, all wise, merciful and independent God, the creator and governor of the world, to whose glory all things must be subservient, and on whom all things depend. The Jews, in their conceptions of the Divine character, the nature of his worship and the duties of justice and charity, which man, as the creature of God, owes to his fellow man, were as superior to

their most cultivated cotemporaries, as in the arts, arms and letters they fell below them. The loftiest purpose of Judaism, however, was to prepare the way for a more perfect and glorious dispensation of truth, which should go forth from its bosom. Toward this last, all its ritual pointed, and from the glimpses of the coming day thus afforded to the eye of faith, the pious Israelite derived all his solace and joy in waiting upon the God of his fathers. The Jewish religion was a shadow, of which Christianity is the substance; it was a promise, of which Christianity is the fulfilment. The law of Moses was designed merely to be a pedagogue to lead men to Jesus Christ. The Church of God then was, as in that stage of its development He intended it to be, a Theocracy; the Jews guarded the sacred deposit of revelation with a spirit of jealous exclusiveness; they proudly excluded from a participation in their birthright, all the other children of Adam, except the few who, by conformity to their national rites, received a partial adoption into the family of Abraham. This being the case, Judaism in its then existing form was utterly unfit for universal diffusion; it was essentially a local religion, the material shadow of a better system to come; and before it could become the faith of all nations, a light to lighten the Gentiles, its pure moral and religious spirit needed to be purged from its Jewish accidents, and to put on a more spiritual and universal form.

When the founder of the new dispensation appeared in our world, Judaism exhibited in the persons of its professors all the melancholy symptoms of speedy decay. All that spirituality of mind which their fathers had manifested, had departed with them; and since faith no longer dwelt in the hearts of the worshippers, the worship which they still outwardly paid, was merely formal, burdensome, and hypocritical. The outward forms of religion, which are always magnified the more as its spirit dies, were indeed kept up with a punctilious and superstitious exactness; but this robe of external sanctity, in which the degenerate sons of the old prophets paraded themselves before the world, too often

covered hearts, of which ambition, avarice, sensuality, and even scepticism, were the unclean inhabitants. Josephus, himself a Jew, represents their high priests and rulers as men of abandoned character, who obtained their places by bribery ; and our Saviour likens their religious teachers unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without, but within are filled with dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

Passing by the great schism between the worshippers at Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim, the Jews proper were divided into three principal sects, in all of which the formal principle was predominant, though wearing on each a widely different garb.

Of these the Pharisees were the most numerous, and from an affectation of superior sanctity, which so often imposes upon the mass, they were by far the most popular. Their religion, however, may well be styled the idolatry of formalism. The temple and the ritual, Moses and the Rabbins, seem to have usurped in their minds the place of God. Their piety had its seat, not in the heart, but in the countenance. It consisted not in marks of love, and spiritual oneness with their Maker, but in a spurious, lifeless orthodoxy, and an ostentatious round of ceremonial observances. They made long prayers and devoured widows' houses, they tithed the very herbs which grew in their gardens, but omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. In opposition to the Sadducees, they indeed held to a spiritual interpretation of the sacred writings ; but instead of regarding this as a key to the deep things of the spirit, they only employed it as an instrument for multiplying those frivolous and burdensome superstitions, under which the miserable Hebrew was already bowed to the earth. Not content with even this, they had elevated the glosses and dogmas of their doctors to an authority equal, and even paramount, to that of the Word of God ; so that their system was a miserable and unseemly patchwork of things new and old, divine and human. "We seem to stand," says John Von



Muller, speaking of it, "among the ruins of a palace, in which the old architecture is so defaced by incongruous ornaments, and the huge columns so hidden under capitals of hideous design, that we are obliged to dig in order to bring forth to view the ancient workmanship."

The Sadducees were composed mostly of the opulent, that class who from the common influence of that luxury which accompanies wealth, so often smother in the enjoyment of sense, the higher desires of their nature. Of the Jewish Scriptures, they, like the Samaritan, received the Pentateuch alone; and they adhered so strictly to its letter, that they confined all its teachings to the present world, and even went so far as to maintain that there is no spirit and no future life. The self-invented and burdensome ceremonial of the Pharisees they rejected, but inasmuch as they were equally destitute of religious life, they were as formal in the breach, as their rivals were in their observance. Their system was a negative formalism, which, as all experience shows, is quite as incompatible with a truly religious spirit, as that which is positive. In one point, however, resulting doubtless from their latitudinarian views, they contrast favorably with their more bigoted opponents—they were less exclusive in their feelings, as well as more just and charitable in their actions.

The Essenes were composed of a very different class, and possessed a very different character. In their habits they were quiet, frugal, and industrious; and remote from the noise of cities, in distant agricultural communities, they led a chaste, inoffensive, and contemplative life. They seemed to possess a certain inward religious life, and they certainly exhibited in their actions a degree of practical piety; yet their religion was too plainly of a monkish and mystical cast to be recognized as belonging to the same spiritual family with that of Jesus Christ. With all their excellent qualities, and they had many, there is mixed up an outward asceticism, a proud spirit of separation from the rest of mankind, and an undue attachment to peculiar forms as essential, utterly at variance with the true spirit of inward religion.

The vast multitude of Jews, who then, as now, were scattered over the world in the pursuit of gain, seem chiefly to have been Pharisees. There were some, however, and mostly in Egypt, who had imbibed from a long residence abroad, a taste for the literature and philosophy of the Greeks. Some of these Hellenitic Jews were thus led to despise and forsake the religion of their fathers ; but others, more penetrating, seeing the immense superiority of Judaism to the systems of Paganism, were yet disposed to retain it, not, however, as a Divine and soul-purifying religion, but only as the embodiment of their philosophic dreams. These last, therefore, degraded God's wisdom into a mere echo of man's carnal reason ; and in these philosophising Jews, the pure truths of the gospel encountered their most bitter and uncompromising opponents.

At length, in the fulness of time, the Founder of the new dispensation, the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, appeared upon our earth. The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us full of grace and truth. This event forms the culminating point of all history ; it opens a new and more glorious era in the annals of the human race.

Of the early part of the earthly career of Jesus, and the peculiar influences under which his character was formed, much has been conjectured, but little is known. When about thirty years of age he commenced his mission ; he " began to preach," says the Evangelist, " and to say repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

A few obscure and illiterate men, whose hearts were drawn towards him by the Spirit, became his disciples, and to these he first unfolded the principles of that spiritual kingdom, which he came to establish. The germ of this kingdom is the truth, which finds a response in every bosom, that true religion is a holy state of heart ; and that to obtain it, the natural man must be born again by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and become spiritually a new creature. In developing this idea to the minds of his humble followers, he

sought to convince them of the utter worthlessness of all that merely external righteousness in which holiness of character was then thought to consist. He taught them that acceptance and communion with God were to be enjoyed, not in the mechanical observance of outward religious forms, but in the sincere exercise of those pure desires and affections which the Father of grace originates in our hearts. "For I say unto you that except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." In this manner did he seek to purge religion from its human and Jewish leaven. In this way did he eliminate the divine principle of an inward life, from that mass of sensual observances which had so long buried it from human sight. Thus "the most gracious God," says William Penn, "caused the light to shine out of darkness, and the day-star began to rise in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face of his Son Jesus Christ." "The kingdom of God," said the great teacher, "cometh not with observation." True religion neither consists in nor depends upon anything material or outward. It is, therefore, not to be gone out after. It is not to be sought in the temple, in the ritual, or in the priest. But a man who loves and serves God in the spirit, he is the true worshipper, whether he live the life of an anchorite, in some desert solitude, or ply his busy vocation on the mart of some crowded city. "The kingdom of heaven is within you—Behold! the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him." And this is the covenant which He will make with them: "I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them; and their sins and iniquities will I remember no more."

For more than three years the good Shepherd went about to seek and to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Patiently and assiduously he labored to instruct his countrymen in divine things, and to bring them into that kingdom

where, guided by the spirit, they might enjoy not only freedom from the heavy burdens which their corrupt priests had imposed upon them, but a purer and more exalted communion with the Father of their spirits. To accomplish this work, which had been assigned him by the Father, he toiled, suffered, and died. Anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power, he unostentatiously went about doing good, proclaiming everywhere the glad tidings of the kingdom. He healed the sick, he instructed the ignorant, he reclaimed the erring, he poured the balm of consolation into the hearts of the sorrowful, he preached the gospel to the poor.

But whilst the light thus shone in darkness, the darkness comprehended it not. The Son of Man was greeted with such a reception as an ignorant and ungrateful world ever gives to its wisest teachers and best benefactors. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. The gentleness of his manners, the blamelessness of his life, the richness of his benefactions, and the surpassing purity and sublimity of his doctrines ;—all this only served to draw down upon him the envious hatred of a bigoted priesthood and the blind fury of a deluded people. The malice of his enemies was only satisfied when it had imbrued its guilty hands in his innocent blood. This is the heir, said these wicked husbandmen, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours.

But God oftentimes causeth the wrath of man to praise him, and he oftentimes employeth the opposition of the wicked as a means of accomplishing purposes which they vainly would frustrate. So it came to pass. The death of Christ upon the cross proved the eternal salvation of a lost world. This result he had himself foretold. " Verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."

Little did Jewish priests and heathen rulers think, that in nailing the unoffending object of their envy to the cross, they were taking the most effectual means of spreading his dreaded doctrines, and of procuring their own speedy and

fearful overthrow! Little did they imagine, that in shedding his blood, they were planting that corn of wheat which should fill a famishing world with the bread of spiritual life! Yet so the determinate council and foreknowledge of God had appointed. The corn of wheat died, and the death of Jesus proved the life of his people. The Saviour of sinners was lifted up on the cross, and the simple tale of his sufferings has such an attractive power over the human heart, that millions, in every age and clime, have been drawn by it to that cross's foot.

God suffered not his Holy One to see corruption. He burst the cerements of death. He confirmed the hearts of his weeping and bewildered disciples, and directed them to publish his religion to all nations. He graciously assured them of the perpetual guidance and indwelling of the Spirit—and then entering within the veil, he appeared before the Father, as the ever-living High Priest of his peculiar people.

When Jesus was put to death, his enemies fondly supposed that spiritual religion would die with him. But through the mercy and appointment of God it turned out otherwise. His doctrines still lived in the hearts of his followers. The infant Church, indeed, presented to the eye of man the insignificance of that least of seeds to which its Founder had compared it: but like the mustard-seed, it possessed, in its inward life, such a principle of growth, as caused it, within the lifetime of its first preachers, to overshadow all lands with its fruitful branches.

The number of believers, convened at the election of Matthias in the place of the unworthy Judas, was only "about a hundred and twenty;" but so soon as the day of Pentecost, "there were added unto them about three thousand souls." Shortly after this Peter addressed an immense concourse in the porch of Solomon, and we are told that "many of them which heard the word, believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand." Alarmed at the rapid progress of the new faith, the priests and their adherents sought to arrest it by force, but as commonly happens, this only increased the

number of converts, "and believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women." At length the Christian community became so large that the daily distribution of alms to its poor members seriously interfering with the more spiritual duties of the Apostles, it was found necessary to appoint seven men to be the almoners of the Churches' charities; and still, we are informed, "the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith."

The fires of persecution, which had been so long pent up, now burst forth upon the disciples with increased fury. The Jewish rulers seem hitherto to have adopted the more moderate council of Gamaliel; but now the sword was unsheathed; its earliest victim was Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, who died, as became the first Christian martyr, praying for his enemies. This ebullition of priestly and popular rage, which took place probably about A. D. 36, was followed by consequences which its authors had not anticipated. It proved the means of disseminating yet more widely the Christian faith. The disciples were dispersed abroad throughout Judea and Samaria, and even travelled as far as Phenicia, Cyprus and Antioch; and "they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word."

About a year subsequent to this, the cause of Christ received a new impetus, in the conversion of Paul. This man, a learned and eloquent Jew of Tarsus, who, by his virulent enmity to Christians, had made himself conspicuous in this persecution, now became the most zealous and successful champion of that faith which he once sought to destroy. From the conversion of Paul we may date the calling of the Gentiles. For, although Christ had commanded his disciples to preach the gospel to all nations, yet so strong were their prejudices as Jews, that the glorious truth, that Christianity was designed for all mankind, does not seem to have taken full possession of their minds, until after this event. The enlarged and more spiritual views of Paul led them finally to perceive

the full import of their commission, and to admit the heathen also to a participation in the blessings of the Spirit. The labors of Paul well entitle him to be styled the Apostle of the Gentiles; his laborious life was spent in efforts for their salvation; and as the fruit of his toils, we behold Christian communities planted in most of the principal cities of the civilized world. Peter probably visited Babylon, Asia Minor, and finally Rome, where he was crucified. Andrew probably labored on the shores of the Black Sea, near the modern Constantinople, and perhaps in Greece. Thomas seems to have travelled eastward to Parthia, Media, Persia and Judea. Bartholomew took, perhaps, a more southern course, and preached in Arabia; while Matthew is reported to have travelled east, and published the gospel in modern Persia.\* John, the beloved disciple, after long laboring in Judea, finished his career at Ephesus, at an advanced age, about A. D. 100. The closing scene of this holy man's life presents a beautiful illustration of the genuine spirit of primitive Christianity. Sensible that death was near, he caused himself to be carried for the last time into the assembly of his brethren; when looking upon them, he lifted up his hands and said, "Children, as the Lord hath loved us, so I beseech you always to love one another;" and having thus said, he laid down his head and expired.†

Of the progress of Christianity for some years after the death of the Apostles, little is definitely known; yet it is probable, from the state of the Church about the commencement of the second century, that their immediate successors were as zealous and indefatigable as themselves. Pliny, the Roman Governor of Pontus and Bithynia, in his well-known letter to the Emperor Trajan, about A. D. 107, represents Christianity as having been embraced by persons of every age and rank, and that, in consequence, the heathen temples in those countries had been forsaken and their sacred solemnities discontinued. "Nor has the contagion of this super-

\* See Murdock's *Mosheim*, Vol. I., p. 48; note by translator.

† John Von Müller's *Universal History*, Vol. II., p. 39.

stition," he adds, "seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country." Justin Martyr, in his "Apology for Christians," addressed to Antoninus Pius, about the middle of the second century, says: "There is no race of men, whether barbarian or Greek, or by whatever other name they be designated, whether they wander in wagons, or dwell in tents, amongst whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to the Father and Creator of all, in the name of the crucified Jesus." We learn from Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, about A. D. 178, that the light of the gospel had, at that time, been received in Germany, France, Spain, and Lybia: and Tertullian, a few years later, about A. D. 198, declares that Parthia, Media, Armenia, the Getuli and Moors in Africa, all the borders of Spain, many nations of Gaul, those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the Romans, the Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, Scythians, and other nations and islands innumerable, were then subject to the dominion of Christ. "We are but of yesterday," he said, "yet we have filled your empire, your cities, your islands, your castles, your corporate towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, your companies, your palace, your senate, your forum;—your temples alone are left to you." "We constitute," he elsewhere says, "almost the majority of every town."\* Making all due allowance for the natural exaggeration of a fervid rhetoric, it appears from this latter statement, that in little more than a century and a half from the death of its founder, and in spite of all the fierce and bloody opposition it met with from the civil power, the Christian Church embraced within its membership nearly, or quite half the population of the Roman Empire; and that it had also succeeded in planting the standard of the cross in lands where the iron legions of the Cæsars had never forced their way. "Thus," says Palmer, "was Christianity destined to spring from a small and obscure beginning, and overspread the earth in the luxuriance of its growth. From Judea, the least of the nations of the earth, and from twelve of its poorest and most

\* See Palmer's Ecclesiastical History, Chapter II.



illiterate children, 'a sound went into all the earth, and words unto the ends of the world.'"

The primitive Churches present the singular spectacle of hundreds of independent communities having no visible confederate organization, and yet all constituting together a society possessed of such a real oneness, as the world has never witnessed either before or since. This strong yet invisible bond of Christian fellowship was spiritual sympathy, it proceeded from the living bond of each to Christ as the Church's head ; their common relationship to him constituted their common relationship to one another, and this unity of the spirit bound together the most remote portions of Christ's kingdom into one holy and harmonious brotherhood. In this relative state of the primitive Churches as contrasted with that of a subsequent age, we can discern the radical antagonism of those two principles of which we have spoken. So long as the Christian confederacy was purely a spiritual one, the Catholic Church was a real unit ; but when men, dissatisfied with this, sought to establish some outward and material bond, then the spirit of unity departed ; and Christ's body, which, while simply united in him, had been, like his vesture, seamless, now that it depended on an outward and sensual union, became torn asunder, and its members estranged from each other, by factions and schisms.

But with each independent body of Christians the case was different. A society, for whatever it is to be formed, cannot exist without laws commonly agreed upon, understood and enforced. Each Church was in the habit of steadily meeting together for religious worship, new members were to be admitted, and unworthy ones admonished or expelled ; hence for the maintenance of order in the Church, some form of government must be adopted. In a religious society, however, the form of government must always correspond, more or less, to the nature of the religion it professes. Hence we should naturally expect that the ecclesiastical polity of the Christian church would be conformed as far as practicable to the spirituality of its doctrine. " The ministration of the law," says

John Milton, "consisting of carnal things, drew to it such a ministry as consisted of carnal respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a ministry established in the gospel as is founded upon the points and terms of superiority, and nests itself in worldly honors, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the flesh ; for doubtless there is a certain attraction and magnetic force betwixt the religion and the ministerial form thereof. If the religion be pure, spiritual, simple, and lowly, as the gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner, if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honor, temporal jurisdiction, we see with our eyes, it will turn the inward power and purity of the gospel into the outward carnality of the law ; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities and gay shows."\* We accordingly find, that this essential connection between the religion and its forms of government, was duly observed by the early Christians, and that the order which they introduced into their Churches corresponded in its simple machinery with the pure spirituality of the gospel. "The new Churches," says the learned Gieseler, "everywhere formed themselves on the model of the mother Church at Jerusalem. At the head of each were the elders, all officially of equal rank, though in several instances a peculiar authority seems to have been conceded to some one individual from personal considerations. Under the superintendence of the elders were the deacons and deaconesses, and all these (if they needed it) received their support, like the poor, from the free contributions of the Church. It was by no means any part of the duty of the elders to teach, although the apostle wishes that they may be apt to teach. The power of speaking and exhortation was considered the free gift of the Spirit, and was possessed by many of the Christians, though exercised in different ways."†

The comparative silence of the Scriptures on this subject,

\* The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy. Chap. 3.

† Gieseler's Eccles. Hist., Vol. I., pp. 56, 59.

should lead us to believe that the forms of government and worship adopted by the early Christian societies, were such as they had been previously familiar with ; and that for this reason, the Apostles who superintended the formation of such societies deemed the communication of any formal and written instructions on this head to be wholly superfluous. When we remember, moreover, that the first Christians had been Jews, we are naturally led to suppose that the internal arrangements of their congregations would be modeled, as far as consistent, after some corresponding institution in the Jewish Church. With the outward pomp and magnificence of the temple service, the spiritual genius of Christianity had no affinity ; but in the synagogue worship, the disciples of Christ found a more simple and congenial institution. The services of the synagogue were, moreover, identified with all the religious habits and devout associations of the pious Israelite : to the temple his visits were few, and far between ; but the synagogue was the place to which he repaired, for the worship of God, every Sabbath day, from infancy to hoary age. That the Jewish synagogues actually furnished the model after which the apostolic congregations were governed, appears from all the scriptural notices of their ministry and worship : " their entire ecclesiastical polity," says the learned Hugo Grotius, " was strictly conformed to the model of the synagogue." \* This is the opinion of all those eminent scholars, such as Vitringa, Selden, Lightfoot, Neander, and others equally distinguished, who have made this matter the subject of their investigation. With regard to those of equal learning, who have arrived at a different conclusion, we may fear that they have been too anxious to find precedents for their own practice, to look upon primitive usage with an impartial eye. Prelacy, tending as it does to the " old pomp and glory of the flesh," naturally seeks for a counterpart to itself, in the precedence of the Aaronic priesthood, and in the " gay shows" and external splendors of the Mosaic ritual.

\* Comment. on Acts xi. 30.

Such, therefore, was that simple form of administration, sanctioned by the Apostles, and adopted by the primitive Christian form; a form, which, by its striking contrast, stamps the seal of reprobation upon all those systems of latter times, in which priestly ambition has lorded it over God's heritage, and sought to dazzle the senses of the people rather than to feed their souls with the bread of life. We are not to imagine, however, that the particular form of government which was then adopted, is binding in all its details, and without any modification, upon the Christian Church in all ages and under all circumstances. "Neither Christ nor the Apostles," says Neander, "have given any unchangeable law on this subject. Where two or three are gathered together in my name, says Christ, there am I in the midst of them. This coming together in his name, he assures us, alone renders the assembly well pleasing in his sight, whatever be the different forms of government under which his people meet. Under the guidance of the Spirit of God, they (the Apostles) gave the Church the particular organization which, while it was best adapted to the circumstances and relations of the Church at that time, was also best suited to the extension of the Churches in their peculiar condition, and for the development of the inward principles of their communion. But forms may change with every change of circumstances; and whenever, at a later period, any form of Church government has arisen out of a series of events according to the direction of Divine Providence, and is organized and governed with regard to the Lord's will, he may be said, himself, to have established it, and to operate through it by his Spirit." \*

But while the particular forms of Church government may change, the principles of its organization are at all times, and in every place, one and unchangeable. The great head of the Church has vested in its members a discretionary power, for the use of which they are responsible, to modify its forms to meet their peculiar exigencies, so that what is the best form, having his sanction, is truly a Divine form: yet in

\* Neander's Introduction to Coleman's Primitive Church, p. 15.

effecting these modifications, they are required always to keep in view the nature of the Christian Church as a spiritual community. They must remember that, "if the religion be pure, spiritual, simple, and lowly, as the Gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be;" as, in the primitive Churches, all cumbrous and ostentatious forms must therefore be discarded, the government must be as simple as the maintenance of order will allow, and the worship, avoiding all display, must be of such a nature as will best promote the spirituality of the worshippers, and best enable them to hold an immediate and true communion with the invisible Creator.

Most unhappily, however, this simplicity of organization and of worship, as consonant with the spirituality of the Christian faith, did not long continue. Priestly ambition, the prolific germ of all those monstrous evils, which, like so many loathsome and destructive parasites, have fastened themselves upon the Church, soon began to display itself. It was even discernible as early as the Apostolic times, for Paul, in his second letter to the Thessalonians, speaking prophetically of the Roman Hierarchy, says, "the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only," he adds, referring to pagan Rome, "he who now hindereth, will hinder, until he be taken out of the way."

In attempting to trace the gradual development and growth of the formal principle within the bosom of the visible Church, I will not seek so much to chronicle the names of those sects, which, like bubbles on the surface of a stagnant pool, indicated the working of inward corruption, as to speak of what seems to me to have been the chief cause of that corruption—Ecclesiastical or Priestly despotism. For so soon as they whom the Holy Ghost had made the servants of their brethren, began to carry themselves as a distinct and superior caste, and to seek their own aggrandizement rather than the welfare of the flock, so soon the lust of power became a corrupting ulcer in Christ's body, exhausting its vital energies for its own foul nourishment,

and covering its surface with the vile and leprous crust of dead formality.

In speaking of the internal arrangements of the primitive Churches, there is an ambiguity in the use of the term Church, at the present day, that requires our notice. When the prelatist employs the term, he would have you understand it in a diocesan sense; and he would have you believe that the deacons represent his modern Levites, the presbyters or elders his modern priests, and the elder who was chosen to preside in the council of his brethren, the president or bishop, as he was afterwards called by way of distinction, his modern diocesan prelate. A primitive Church was simply an assembly, a congregation, or a meeting of faithful men. These congregations were all independent; they were bound together by no outward confederate organization, and the only bond which united them, as the members of one spiritual fraternity, was the bond of a common faith. There being nothing answering to a diocesan organization, there was of course no office answering to that of a diocesan superintendant. Even the Apostles who had a general care of the Churches, and to whose extraordinary office it pertained to settle the usages of the Church at large, arrogated to themselves no higher ecclesiastical rank, than that of co-presbyters in each particular Church. The presbyters or bishops, for these terms are interchangeable and designate the same class of men, constituted the eldership of a single congregation, beyond which, unless through courtesy, or in the founding of new societies, they enjoyed no official prerogative. It was not their special province to teach, which was regarded as the free gift of the Spirit, but to oversee the spiritual affairs of the religious community. To this office they were chosen by the suffrages of the Church, and they were solemnly inducted into it by the imposition of the hands of the elderhood. This last ceremony, however, unlike modern Episcopal ordination, which professes to convey a spiritual title to the office, was probably nothing more than a public prayer that God would grant grace to the newly elected elder to discharge with faithful-

ness the duties of his station. The members of the Congregational presbytery were all of equal rank and possessed of equal authority; but one of their number was chosen temporarily, and sometimes from personal considerations permanently, to preside over their assembly; this, however, gave the presiding presbyter no official standing over his brethren, he was still a simple elder, and merely "primus inter pares," first among his equals.

But soon the mystery of iniquity began to work, and the love of power, which is so naturally engendered by its possession, began to discover itself in the rulers of the Church. In some irregular way, the title of bishop, which at first was given to all, came to be appropriated to the presiding presbyter; and that office which he held by the common consent of his brethren, he soon began to claim as his by a Divine right. The privilege of public teaching gradually passed into the hands of the elders, and distinction now began to obtain between the laity and the clergy; and the presbyters, with the bishop at their head, began to assume the prerogatives of a class wholly distinct and superior to the common members of the congregation. Now the idea of the Mosaic priesthood began to creep into the Church; the customary form of consecration to the offices began to have a certain mystic influence; the clergy were regarded as the medium of communication between God and the people; and the ceremonial pomp of the temple began to supplant, in a measure, the naked simplicity of the synagogue. As the congregation enlarged, new congregations would be formed both in the city and surrounding country. Over these the bishop of the parent society would naturally claim and exercise some jurisdiction, and in this way, diocesan episcopacy doubtless took its rise. Soon we find another grade in the Hierarchy gradually obtaining ground, namely, that of provincial primate or metropolitan. Provincial Synods, after the close of the second century, were held in most of the provinces, once or twice every year. As these were commonly convened in the principal city of the province, the bishop of that city of

course presided ; and in this way these bishops, hence styled metropolitans, came, first by usage, and then by law, to exercise a sort of superintendence over the others. In addition to these we gradually find the bishops of the three great cities of the Roman empire considered as the head of the Church, and assuming the more pompous title of patriarchs ; these were the bishops of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch ; while the first, the Roman Pontiff, began already, as early as the days of Cyprian, to be tacitly acknowledged as the prince of Patriarchs, the sole earthly head of the Christian Church.

Early in the fourth century Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman empire, and Constantine the Great openly favored the new faith as early as A. D. 319, but after he became sole emperor by the defeat and banishment of his colleague, Licinius, A. D. 322, the union of the Church and state was fully and formally consummated. This union, while it relieved Christians from their civil disabilities, proved, as it always does, most disastrous to the internal purity and spirituality of the Church. Cæsar usurped the place of Christ ; the Church dwindled into the mere satellite of the temporal power ; the highest ecclesiastical preferments were awarded, not to the most deserving, but to the personal favorites of the prince ; the people were stripped of their ancient rights, and degraded into the mere vassals of a voluptuous, arrogant, and too often, a dissolute clergy ; he, who had hitherto proved a check upon priestly ambition, was now taken out of the way, and the very idea of a spiritual kingdom was now merged and forgotten in that of an outward imperious, domineering hierarchy. Nor was the power of these lords of God's heritage restricted merely to things spiritual ; they also claimed and exercised absolute jurisdiction over the temporal affairs of their down-trodden flocks. The primitive custom of referring their differences to the arbitration of elders, that they might thus avoid the necessity of going to law before the unbelievers, came in time to be claimed by the clergy, and yielded by the people, as a Divine right, pertaining to the priestly office.



This claim, so arrogant and unfounded, the Empire ratified by law, so that now the bishops became not only lords spiritual, but lords temporal. From the decisions of these ecclesiastical tribunals, moreover, there was no appeal; the civil magistrate was bound to execute their decrees; and while they could overrule the proceedings of the secular courts, their own were not liable to be overruled by any.

Constantine, as the head of the Church, assumed the right, which, as it tended to their aggrandizement, was easily acquiesced in by the clergy, of effecting certain modifications in the outward structure of the sacerdotal body. "And as he wished, for various reasons, to adapt the ecclesiastical administration to that of the Commonwealth, it became necessary that new grades of honor and pre-eminence should be introduced among the bishops. The princes among the bishops, were those who had before held a pre-eminent rank, namely, the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; with whom the Bishop of Constantinople was joined, after the imperial residence was transferred to that city. These four prelates answered to the four prætorian prefects created by Constantine, and perhaps even in this century, bore the Jewish title of Patriarchs. Next to these were the exarchs, corresponding with the civil exarchs, and presiding each over several provinces. The Metropolitans came next, who governed only single provinces. After them ranked the Archbishops, who had the inspection only of certain districts of country. The Bishops brought up the rear; whose territories were not in all countries of the same extent, being in some more extensive, and in others confined to narrower limits."\* A church government so well fitted to foster worldly ambition, and to deaden all the spiritual feelings of the clergy, could not fail to exert a most unhappy and corrupting influence upon Christian worship. Augustine, towards the close of this century, accordingly observes, that the yoke once laid upon the Jews, was more supportable, than that laid on many Christians in his age. For not

\* Murdock's Mosheim, Vol. I., p. 232.

content with an imitation of the Jewish ritual, the rites and institutions of paganism were also adopted into the services of the sanctuary; the priests hoping by this similarity of forms to induce the heathens to embrace with greater readiness the new religion. Christianity soon became, not merely a baptized Judaism, but what was worse, baptized Paganism. The dignitaries of the Church began to assume an outward pomp, corresponding to the greatness of their ghostly authority. They began, in imitation of the Aaronic and heathen priesthood, to adopt their robes and crosiers, their mitres and tiaras. The temples, as their churches began to be called (and some of them had formerly been the scenes of pagan solemnities), were adorned with pictures and images, wax tapers, and costly ornaments, in magnificent profusion. While answering to all this, on feast-days and fast-days, which now began to multiply, the senses of the people were dazzled, and their superstitious feelings excited, by the exhibitions of an unmeaning but imposing ceremonial. Piety now consisted in mere outward conformities and observances. Celibacy, especially, was regarded as the most angelic of virtues; and multitudes of mistaken men and women rupturing all the ties, and forsaking all the enjoyments and engagements of social life, sought to win the highest crown of moral purity, by dreaming away their days in idleness, amid the silence of some frightful desert. Thus did the gospel, to use the strong language of the great Milton, "through the grossness and blindness of her professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards, as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new vomited paganism of sensual idolatry; attributing purity or impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the spirit to the outward and customary eye-service of the body, as if they could make God earthly and fleshly, because they could not make themselves heavenly and spiritual; they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul, yea, the very shape of God him-

himself into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a necessity and obligation of joining the body in a formal reverence, and worship circumscribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold and gewgaws, fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the flamen's vestry; then was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies and his luries, till the soul by this means of overbodying herself, given up justly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward; and finding the ease she had from her visible and sensuous colleague, the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken and flagging, shifted off from herself the labor of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity."\*

We have seen that the primitive Churches were distinct societies; and, that while they were all members of one body, they were still united by no bond of a material nature. But when the clergy came to be regarded as a distinct and superior caste, and when the presidents of the primitive congregations had assumed the title and authority of diocesan bishops, then there began to prevail in the Church the notion of an outward unity, one which must consist in the relation of each Church, through its bishop, with some visible centre of Catholic unity; and in determining where that centre should be, it was generally agreed to place it in the Church of Rome, or rather in the bishops of that powerful diocese.

Upon the alleged Apostolic primacy of Peter, in connection with the pretence that he was the first Bishop of Rome, the Roman Bishop appears very early to have grounded a claim to the earthly head of the Christian Church. Either for these reasons, or because Rome, the rich and imperial city, was the centre of political power, this proud title of universal bishop, though without any corresponding jurisdiction,

\* Milton's "Reformation in England," Book i.

was very generally conceded to the Roman prelate. From this early period, doubtless, the growing ambition of these Pontiffs began to indulge itself in those splendid dreams of dominion, which after ages so fully realized ; and from this commenced that long series of successful usurpations, which at length changed a simple pastor on the banks of the Tiber, into the mightiest potentate of Christendom. "The Romish system," says Archbishop Whately, "rose insensibly, like a young plant from the seed, making a progress scarcely perceptible from year to year, till at length it had fixed its root deeply in the soil, and spread its baleful shade far around."

The Churches of Asia Minor observed the festival of Easter on a different day from the rest of the Christian world ; and this circumstance furnished Victor, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 190, with a pretext for the exercise of his episcopal authority. Having first addressed to those Churches an imperious epistle, which they disregarded, he next proceeded to excommunicate them from the Catholic Church. This arrogant assumption of power was, of course, indignantly and perseveringly resisted ; yet, as we learn from Tertullian, the Romish bishops continued to issue peremptory edicts in ecclesiastical matters, and began already, like their modern successors, to justify their encroachments by appeals to the authority of their predecessors in the Apostolic chair. About the middle of the third century, we find on record another instance of their ambitious pretensions. Two Spanish bishops, having been deposed by the provincial Synod, Stephen, Bishop of Rome, reversed the decision and reinstated them in their episcopal office. The Spanish clergy referred the matter to the arbitration of the Synod of North Africa, in whose name Cyprian declared the decision of the Roman Bishop to be invalid. Not at all daunted by this resistance, Stephen shortly after attempted to impose upon this very Church of Africa, in connection with those of Asia Minor, the tradition of his Church with respect to the baptism administered by heretics. And on their refusing to receive it as a rule, he formally excluded them from his communion, and

forbade the members of his diocese to receive their deputies into their houses. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who was again the organ of remonstrance, stoutly protested against this gross encroachment upon the rights of independent Churches ; he does not indeed deny the primacy of the Roman Bishop, as the successor of Peter, but maintains, that his primacy was one, not of authority, but of simple precedence.

Thus matters stood when Constantine the Great constituted the Bishops of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, the four great centres of Catholic unity. The first rank was, however, for several reasons, assigned to the Bishop of Rome. In determining the relative dignity of their bishops, the Churches of the West and East proceeded upon different principles. But both these principles concurred to give the Roman Patriarch preëminence over his brethren. In the West, where Rome was the only city in which a Church had been founded by an Apostle, the first rank was assigned to an Apostolic Church ; but in the East, where many Churches had been planted by Apostles, the standing of a bishop was determined by the importance of the city in which he presided. While the Western Churches, therefore, placed the Bishop of Rome above all others, as the successors of the two chief Apostles, and as the head of their only Apostolic Church ; the Eastern Churches, also, according to their own principle, could not but concede to him the same rank, as bishop of the first city in the world.

But Rome was not satisfied with mere titles, she wished to sway the sceptre as well as wear the crown. Accordingly the council of Sardica, convened by the pontiff Julius, A. D. 344, decreed that all condemned bishops might appeal for a new trial to the Bishop of Rome. This famous decree, which is regarded by Romanists as the first of those steps by which the successors of Peter mounted into the papal throne, is, however, of very doubtful authority ; but even admitting its genuineness, this assembly, called by a Roman bishop, and numbering few from the East among its members, was not a general but a Western council. Indeed this ecclesiastical

decision seems to have had but little weight at the time, since, some thirty years later, we find the Emperor Gratian, at the instance of the Roman Church, issuing another decree to the same purpose. But what principally served to extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs in the West, was the custom of referring to them as the head of the only Apostolic Church of their region, all questions concerning the Apostolic customs and doctrines. This gave them an opportunity, which they failed not to improve, to impose their own traditions upon other Churches as the only rule by which all matters of faith and usage were to be definitely settled. Another circumstance which gave great prominence to the patriarch of Rome at this time, both in the West and East, was the fact that he was almost the only organ of communication between these two great divisions of the Church. Hence there was no great controversy in the East in which both parties did not seek, by their servile flatteries, to gain the Roman pontiff as the representative of the Western Churches. The influence which he was thus enabled to exert, we can discern in the decision of the Arian question at the council of Nice, A. D. 325; and we finally behold him, A. D. 451, presiding by his legates over the general council of Chalcedon. The Bishops of Rome also contrived to derive advantage from the disputes, which from time to time arose between different prelates as to precedence and jurisdiction. In this way, by promises of their assistance, they adroitly managed to appoint vicars of the Apostolic See in Thessalonica, Gaul and Spain, and thus greatly extended the authority of the Roman Church.

But Rome, with true carnal instinct, always sought to gain her ambitious ends by courting the favor of the temporal power. We have already noticed the edict of Gratian confirming the decree of the council of Sardica, and now she obtained another from Valentinian the Third, A. D. 445, by which the Roman bishop was made sole head of the whole Western Church. From Justinian she appears to have obtained still larger concessions. That emperor, A. D. 533, in

a letter to Pope John the Second (for by this time the Roman bishops had assumed this title as exclusively their own) addresses the pontiff as "the head of all the holy Churches." "For we cannot suffer," he says, "that anything pertaining to the state of the Churches, however manifest and indubitable, should be done without the knowledge of your holiness, who is the head of all the holy Churches; since in all things, as we have said, we desire to promote the honor and authority of your See."\* Justinian probably meant all this to be a mere compliment, but the Roman bishop construed it into something far more substantial, and it served most unquestionably greatly to strengthen his title to universal supremacy. Unbounded, therefore, was the indignation of Pope Gregory the Great, and vehement were his protestations, when John, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 587, with the sanction of the Emperor Mauricius, assumed the title of universal patriarch. And when Mauricius was murdered, A. D. 602, by the centurion Phocas, he hastened to congratulate that execrable and blood-stained usurper as the honored instrument of Providence to avenge the wrongs of St. Peter. Phocas repaid the fulsome flattery of Gregory by granting to his successor Boniface the Third, a decree that the Apostolic See of Peter should henceforth be the head of all the Churches.

But the time had now come, when the Roman Church ceased to be dependent for its advancement upon the favor of the Eastern emperors. "Already," says Merle d'Aubigné, "the forests of the north had poured forth the most effectual promoters of papal power. The barbarians who had invaded the West, and settled themselves therein—but recently converted to Christianity—ignorant of the spiritual character of the Church, and feeling the want of an external pomp of religion, prostrated themselves in a half savage and half heathen state of mind, at the feet of the chief priest of Rome. First the Vandals, then the Ostrogoths, a short time after the Burgundians and the Alains, then the Visigoths, and at last the

\* Gieseler's Eccles. Hist. vol. I., sec. 115, note 23.

Lombards and the Anglo-Saxons, came bowing the knee to the Roman pontiff. It was the sturdy shoulders of the idolatrous children of the north which elevated to the supreme throne of Christendom a pastor of the banks of the Tiber.\*

Rome, in her new position, still sought to rise, by allying herself with princes; and now (A. D. 752) playing the same part with Pepin which she had formerly done with Phocas, she obtained, as the reward of her subserviency, not merely spiritual, but temporal sovereignty. Pepin, mayor of the palace, son of that Charles Martel who, near Tours, had vanquished Abderahman and his Saracens, and saved Europe from the yoke of Mohamed, had usurped the throne of France, by deposing his sovereign, Childeric the Third. Pope Stephen the Third confirmed his usurpation, by giving it the sanction of his Apostolic authority; and Pepin, in return, marched an army into Italy, defeated the Lombards, and bestowed upon Stephen and his successors the exarchate of Ravenna.

Charlemagne succeeded his father Pepin on the throne of France, A. D. 768; and difficulties having occurred between the papal see and the Lombards, that sovereign wrested from the king of Lombardy his remaining possessions, and annexed Italy to his empire, confirming and enlarging, however, all the gifts of his father to the Roman Church. We again find him, A. D. 779, adding to the plenitude of priestly power, by granting tithes to the clergy, much against the will of the people; and also by granting lands to each Church, to be held by the religious orders without rent or taxes. Again hastening to Rome, to rescue Pope Leo the Third from the fury of a popular tumult, that pontiff placed upon the king's head, he being present at public worship, the imperial crown, and proclaimed him, on Christmas-day A. D. 800, Emperor of the West. The pope, whose election by the people was now confirmed by the emperor, was after this invested with the temporal administration of the Roman territory as a fief of the empire. The act of investment ran thus: "By this

\* Hist. Reform. Germany and Switz., vol. I., p. 23.



our deed of confirmation, we bestow upon the holy Peter, and on the Paschalis, steward of the Apostle, and universal bishop, and on all thy successors in office, the city and the dukedom of Rome, and their domain in hills and plains, as you have heretofore possessed them, with the reservation of our supreme sovereignty, without prejudice or invasion on our part of the spiritual and temporal constitution."\* A. D. 816. To obtain this concession, the pope had exhibited to the emperor a forged grant of Constantine, conveying to the papal see Rome and its adjacent territories, which fraud accounts, doubtless, for that clause in the act, "as you have heretofore possessed them."

The popes, by thus prostituting their sacerdotal power to serve the ends of princes, had become temporal sovereigns: still they affected to receive these royal donations, not so much as gifts, as the restoration of their ancient and divine rights. About this time, were forged the pretended decretals of Isidorus—a collection of the alleged decrees of the first popes, which, in that age of ignorance, served greatly to magnify the papal chair; investing it not only with supreme power in spiritual affairs, but also asserting its independence and superiority to all earthly potentates. We accordingly find Pope John the Eighth, A. D. 875, openly claiming and exercising his divine prerogative to bestow crowns and kingdoms as the gifts of the Church. On the death of Louis the Second, that pontiff, in opposition to the claims of Lewis of Germany, conferred the imperial crown of Charlemagne upon Charles the Bald.

Under the pontificate of Nicholas II., A. D. 1059, the papal see advanced another very important step towards absolute power. Making use of the pretext that popular elections gave rise to tumults and riots, the right of choosing the popes was wrested from the people and vested in the college of cardinals; and soon after the imperial confirmation was also dispensed with, and the pope inducted into office, without the sanction or even knowledge of his feudal sovereign.

\* Müller's *Univers. Hist.*, vol. II., p. 156.

The originator of these important measures was doubtless the celebrated Hildebrand, a Tuscan monk of extraordinary abilities and boundless ambition, who afterwards wore the tiara himself under the name of Gregory VII. This wonderful man, with intellectual resources equal to the greatest undertakings, and possessed of that inflexible decision of character which always ensures success, spent his whole pontificate in efforts to enlarge the jurisdiction, and augment the opulence of the Roman See. He sought to subject the whole Church to the will of the Pontiff and to deprive temporal sovereigns of all interference with the preferments, property or revenues of the Church; in a word, to reduce all the sovereignties of the world to fiefs and tributaries of Peter's chair. The iron will of Gregory was able to carry out the schemes of aggrandizement which his towering ambition had projected; and we accordingly behold, A. D. 1077, the Emperor Henry IV. appeasing the displeasure of this imperious pontiff by standing before his castle three days in the depth of winter bare-headed and bare-footed, and by humbly kissing his feet in token of abject submission. Thus "papal Rome improved upon imperial; she made the tiara stronger than the diadem, and pontiffs more powerful than prætors, and the crosier more victorious than the sword." The principal weapon with which she consummated and maintained her usurpation over the souls and bodies of men, was the power of the Keys; that awful and tremendous power of cutting men off from all connection with heaven, and from all the charities of social life; and of consigning them over, laden with her heaviest curses, to the knife of the assassin and the pains of eternal damnation. "No language can describe," says an eloquent writer, "no mind can conceive, in this day of light and freedom, how awful and omnipotent Rome was in this one element of superstitious power. If the pope could have stood on the steps of his palace in Rome, and at a wave of his hand could have filled the universal world with grinning, gliding spectres, if he could have called frogs up out of the rivers, if he could have

turned the dust into lice, and the day into midnight darkness, he could scarcely have wielded a more tremendous spell of superstition over men's minds."\* From the time of Gregory this tremendous power was unsparingly employed by his successors to maintain the supremacy of the papal throne. Almost every kingdom of Europe, as from time to time they exhibited signs of insubordination, was bombarded into submission by the terrors of the priestly artillery. The popes, as God's vicars, disposed of kingdoms and gave away crowns—refractory monarchs were deposed—their dominions were laid under interdict—their subjects were absolved from their allegiance—the churches were closed—marriages ceased to be solemnized, and even the rites of sepulture were denied the dead—until the royal offender, aghast and trembling at these fearful denunciations, hastened to prostrate himself in humble submission at the feet of his priestly master. This temporal jurisdiction of the pontiff was acknowledged in a most remarkable transaction on the very eve of the great Reformation. "On the third of May, A. D. 1493, Pope Alexander VI., at the humble solicitation of the Spanish sovereigns, 'out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge, and plenitude of Apostolic power,' as he expressed it, and in consideration of their past service to the Church, gave to them and their heirs, a deed of this new world in the West, then discovered by Christopher Columbus."†

The doctrinal and practical corruptions of the Romish Church kept equal pace with the growth of her hierarchical power. Indeed the whole system of Christianity had been gradually modified, so as to lay a basis in the superstition of the people for the superincumbent structure of priestly dominion. A purely spiritual religion, like that of Jesus Christ, could no more co-exist with such a worldly and sensual hierarchy as that of Rome, than the simple doctrines

\* Cheever's Mixture of Civ. and Eccles. Power, Lecture II., p. 103.

† Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. II., Chap. 18.

of republican equality could exist with the grinding yoke of an Eastern despotism. The only wonder is, how the Christianity of the teacher of Nazareth could be changed into the pseudo-christianity of the Roman pontiff. It was by precisely the same process, however, that converted an angel of light into a fiend of the bottomless pit; it was by the gradual workings of an unhallowed and insatiable ambition. Ever since the "mystery of iniquity" began to work, the bishops of Rome have kept one object steadily in view—their own selfish aggrandizement. To this, everything divine and human has been made to bend; for this the life-giving doctrines of the gospel have been changed into the monstrous nightmares of superstition; for this the humble preacher of the truth has been metamorphosed into the priestly magician, and the simple, primitive mode of worship, into the potent spells of an awe-inspiring necromancy; and thus they succeeded, after the lapse of ages, in yoking the enslaved nations of the West to the car of their ungodly triumph. "The Romish corruptions," says Whately, "crept in one by one; originating, for the most part, with an ignorant and depraved people, but connived at, cherished, consecrated, and successfully established, by a debased and worldly-minded ministry; and modified by them just so far as might best favor the views of their profligate ambition."\*

During that dark and dismal age, when the papal see, like some baleful star, was in the zenith of its power, half the wealth of Christendom flowed into the coffers of the Church. The magnificence of the pontifical court outshone that of kings—its sons were princes, and its servants the nobles of the earth; it seemed as though the love of luxury and costly display had begun to contend with ambition in the breast of the pontiff. All the machinery of the hierarchy and all the devices of ghostly power were now put in requisition to raise an adequate revenue for the *meek* successors of the poor fisherman of Galilee. The pardon of sin and eternal salvation now began to be articles of merchandize; Europe swarmed

\* Errors of Romanism, Chap. I., Sec. 2.

with shaven-crowned hucksters of dispensations and indulgences; and the pope everywhere disposed of his paper bill of exchange on heaven, for the golden ducats and florins of the present world. The Inquisition itself, that dark and terrible engine of infernal cruelty, was invented rather as a source of revenue, than from any conscientious desire to promote the faith. The faith! what cared the priests for the faith, so long as their authority was unquestioned, and their coffers running over! The only uniformity which Rome insisted upon was a uniformity of servile obedience to the ambitious and avaricious edicts of the Church; provided this was yielded, she had a creed possessed of such chameleon properties, that men of the most diverse and opposite principles might live and die in her communion. "If you were for pomp and glory, their worship could not miss of giving full satisfaction. Their altars were adorned with costly paintings; hung with images of extraordinary saints; enriched with gold and pearl, and whatever could charm the spectator's eye: their priests officiated in costly habits; their churches resounded with the choicest music, vocal and instrumental; and their public processions carried an air of magnificence, every way proper to amuse the minds of superstitious people. If on the other hand you were for severity, they could accommodate you; they knew how exactly to fall in with that humor. You would hear amongst them many notable harangues in commendation of voluntary poverty, vows of abstinence, penance and mortification, by going barefoot, fasting, wearing sackcloth, and exercising the sharpest discipline towards the body. If you were for strict morals, they had casuists for your purpose, who would talk seraphically, and carry things to an excessive height. If you were for greater liberties in practice, they could turn you to such as would condescend as much as you could desire, that would promise you salvation, though you had no other grace or qualification, but that of subjection and obedience to the Church."\* The greatest laxity of morals prevailed through all ranks of the hierarchy

\* Colton's Lacon, Vol II., c. 21, note.

from the lowest to the highest; and monsters, who disgraced our common humanity, sat in God's temple as vicars of the Most High. Everything could be purchased, and everything had its price; the tiara, the mitre, the lowest benefice—Heaven itself. Provided the authority, the wealth, and the outward unity of the Catholic Church could be maintained, all else was disregarded.

“But to dwell no longer in characterizing the depravities of the Church,” in the noble language of Milton, “and how they sprung and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge, overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church;—how the bright and blessed Reformation, by Divine power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears; and the sweet odor of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners, where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.”\*

As might have been expected, there were holy and right-minded men in every age of the papal apostasy, who saw with grief the gross departure of the Church from the simple spirit of the gospel. These men either publicly protested, like Claudius of Turin in the ninth century, against this reign of formalism; or wept in secret over the sad and apparently incurable corruption which everywhere prevailed. These Israelites indeed, were, however, speedily immolated upon the bloody altar of priestly ambition; and their characters and sentiments, which have been transmitted to us only in the

\* Reformation in England, Book I.

monkish chronicles, have been so blackened, as to represent them rather as monsters of depravity, than as, what they doubtless were, saints of the Most High.

Such a people were the Albigenses, whose existence, as a Church of God, is traced by some through the ancient Paulicians, to the primitive ages of Christianity. They appear from a very early period to have inhabited the summits of the Piedmontese Alps; and their sentiments spreading over the rich and beautiful districts of Provence and Languedoc, were embraced by all classes, from the great feudal princes down to the cultivators of the soil. Their principles were essentially the same as those of the great reformers of the sixteenth century; and from their proximity with France, Spain, and Italy, it became apparent to the vigilant eye of the pontiffs, that unless their progress was checked, they might soon wrest from the Roman sovereign the fairest portions of his patrimony. Pope Innocent the Third, A. D. 1208, accordingly published against them a bull of crusade: their lovely valleys were ravaged with fire and sword; and this harmless people, whose only offence was the spiritual worship of their Maker, were butchered with remorseless cruelty by the armies of the Church.

The Waldenses, or the poor men of Lyons, the followers of Peter Waldo, a merchant of that city, were another people raised up by Providence to bear witness against the sins of Rome. Peter, with some pious associates, about A. D. 1180, began to preach the truth, denying that this office belonged to the priests alone. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff: they maintained that the ministers of religion should procure a frugal subsistence by their own labor; they asserted that authority to teach and admonish their brethren was, to a certain extent, given to all Christians; and they sought to exemplify the purity and simplicity of the primitive gospel, by the blamelessness and holiness of their lives. The Church did not suffer them long to remain unmolested. Pope Lucius the Third, A. D. 1183, excommunicated them as heretics; and many of them perished subse-

quently, in the crusade against the Albigenses, with whom, from a similarity of views, they had sought a refuge. The results of this horrible crusade are thus given by the historian Sismondi: "Blood never ceased to flow, nor the flames to devour their victims in these provinces, now abandoned to the dark fanaticism of the inquisitors. But that terror which had dispersed the heretics had also scattered sparks through all Europe, by which the torch of truth might again be re-kindled. The proscribed Albigenses, who, far from their country, had found an asylum in the cottage of the peasant, or poor artisan, whose labors they shared in profound obscurity, had taught their hosts to read the gospel in common, to pray in their native tongue without the ministry of priests, to praise God, and gratefully submit to the chastisements which his hand inflicted, as the means of their sanctification." \*

In France, Gregory the Ninth formally established the Inquisition at Toulouse, and the fugitives from Piedmont furnished it with numerous victims. In Germany, whither many had also fled, the heretics, as they were impiously called, were hunted with new crusades, which threatened them with extermination. But all these efforts to extinguish only served to scatter the sparks of truth still more widely, so that Gregory soon discovered with alarm that even Rome itself was filled with heresy.

In the following century, John Wickliffe, who has been called the Morning Star of the Reformation, appeared in England; and this man was emboldened, through Divine aid and guidance, to give a loud and distinct utterance to those solemn and deep convictions which now began to fill the minds of men. He was a man of signal ability, sincere piety, and great learning. While he was divinity professor at Oxford, he published certain conclusions, in which he denied transubstantiation, the pope's infallibility, the supremacy of the pontiff over other Churches; and maintained that the New Testament is a perfect rule of life, and ought to be

\* Sismondi's *Crusades against the Albigences*, Chap. 5.



read by the people. These and some other opinions of his, attacking the grandeur and authority of the prelates, were condemned at Rome, A. D. 1378, by Gregory the Eleventh, in a consistory of twenty-three cardinals. By the favor of King Edward the Third, however, Wickliffe continued to live unmolested, and finally, A. D. 1384, he quietly departed from this world, at the age of sixty. In his retirement at Lutterworth, he made the first translation of the New Testament into English; he also wrote near two hundred volumes, which, together with his bones, were burnt forty-one years after his death, by a decree of the council of Constance. His disciples, however, continued to increase, and known by the name of Lollards, they were long the objects of severe and bloody persecution.

John Huss, a disciple of Wickliffe, and the precursor of Luther, was born, A. D. 1373, at Hupinetz, a small town in the kingdom of Bohemia. He made rapid progress in learning, and the great reputation which he soon gained, led Queen Sophia to select him as her confessor. A young Bohemian, on his return from England, brought back with him the writings of Wickliffe. These books were perused by Huss, at first with pious horror; but afterward studying them with more attention he judged of them more favorably; and finally he came, on many points, to be the earnest disciple of the great English Reformer. The shameful struggle which was now carried on between the two rival pontiffs, and the gross and scandalous immorality of the clergy, deeply affected his mind; and led him thenceforth, both in his chapel of Bethlehem, and in the University of Prague, of which he was rector, to contend strenuously for a radical and general reform. This bold course soon drew upon him the vengeance of the prelates; he was cited before the council assembled at Constance, to answer to the charge of heresy; and there, after being condemned on specifications which his accusers did not and could not substantiate, he was burned at the stake and his ashes thrown into the Rhine. The real cause of his death is thus stated in an old manuscript copy

of his works : " As long as John Huss merely declaimed against the vices of the seculars, every one said that he was inspired with the Spirit of God ; but as soon as he proceeded against ecclesiastics, he became an object of odium, for he then really laid his finger on the sore."\* The fire which consumed the body of Huss, wrapt Bohemia in the flames of civil war. The people, roused by the murder of their beloved teacher, everywhere flew to arms to avenge his death, and to defend their religious liberties. The terrible Liska placed himself at their head, and though finally vanquished, they maintained the struggle for more than ten years. But we have a more pleasing evidence of the success of Huss's labors among his countrymen, in the existence of a religious society of which he was the Apostle—a society which is still known, from Greenland to Caffraria, as the Church of the Moravians, or United Brethren.

A century after the death of Huss, Martin Luther, a Saxon monk of the order of St. Augustine, stood up under far happier auspices, to renew the struggle for spiritual freedom. The great reformation, to which this wonderful man has given his name, was in truth a very general and simultaneous effort of the European conscience to cast off those galling and oppressive fetters which had been imposed upon it by the Papacy, and which now, both by princes and people, were felt to be intolerable. " The large jurisdiction exercised by the spiritual tribunals of Rome, seemed to be a degrading badge of servitude. The sums, which under a thousand pretexts, were exacted by a distant court, were regarded both as a humiliating and ruinous tribute. The character of that court excited the scorn and disgust of a grave, earnest, devout and sincere people." The seed, which had been sown over Europe by the Albigenses, the Waldenses, by Wickliffe and Huss, and which had been watered by the blood of so many martyrs, now sprang up into an abundant harvest of resolute and strong-handed resistance to the Papal See. At the same moment, though without any common understanding, the doctrines of religious emancipation were

\* Bonnechese, Reformers before the Reformation, p. 104.

proclaimed in France, in the valleys of Switzerland, and the heart of Germany. "The new theology," says Macauley, "spread with a rapidity never known before. All ranks, all varieties of character, joined the ranks of the innovators. Sovereigns, impatient to appropriate to themselves the prerogative of the pope—nobles, desirous to share the plunder of abbeys—suitors exasperated by the extortions of the Roman Camera—patriots, impatient of a foreign rule—good men, scandalized by the corruptions of the Church—bad men, desirous of the license inseparable from great moral revolutions—wise men, eager in the pursuit of truth—weak men, allured by the glitter of novelty, all were found on one side. In fifty years from the day in which Luther publicly renounced communion with the Church of Rome, and burned the bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendancy. Hundreds, who could well remember brother Martin a devout Catholic, lived to see the revolution of which he was the chief author, victorious in half the States of Europe. In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemberg, the Palatinate, in several cantons of Switzerland, in the northern Netherlands, the Reformation had completely triumphed; and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, it seemed on the point of triumphing."\*

But the history of the Reformation on the continent has been made so familiar by the many excellent works which have been lately written upon it, that, without dwelling upon it longer, we will proceed briefly to trace its progress in that island, with the religious condition of which this book is more particularly concerned.

When the Reformation commenced, the crown of England was worn by Henry the Eighth, of whom Burnet says, "He is to be numbered among the ill princes," and whose only eulogium, as pronounced by that prelate, is that he "could not rank him with the worst." Henry was coarse

\* Review of Ranke, *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1840.

## INTRODUCTION.

in his manners, impatient of contradiction, grossly sensual in his pleasures, capricious and fickle in his attachments, and perfectly unprincipled in the attainment of his ends. When he first heard of the movements of the great Saxon reformer, his indignation was unbounded. "Surely it is no other than the devil," he wrote to the Elector Palatine, "who, by the agency of Luther, has kindled this wide-spreading conflagration—if Luther will not retract, let himself and his writings be committed to the flames." The works of Luther having found their way into England, and being read with avidity by the followers of Wickliffe, the king proceeded to give vent to his rage by causing hundreds of these unhappy people to be burnt at the stake. But not content with this, he determined to enter the lists with the Monk of Wittenberg himself, and to demonstrate his zeal for the faith, by confuting the errors of the arch-heretic, with his royal pen. Having been designed, had his brother Arthur lived, for the Archbishopric of Canterbury, he had been carefully educated for the Church, so that, according to Burnet, "he was the most learned prince that had been in the world for many ages," and deeming this an excellent opportunity to exhibit his scholastic attainments, he wrote against Luther his "Defence of the Seven Sacraments." This book, "written," says one, "as it were with his sceptre," created a sensation in the theological world, highly gratifying to its author's morbid vanity. His flatterers compared it with the works of St Augustine and Pope Leo the Tenth, declaring that it could not have been composed but by the aid of the Holy Ghost, and bestowed upon the king that title, still borne by the sovereigns of England, "Defender of the Faith." Luther replied to this book, and a passage from his reply, as quoted by D'Aubigné, may not be out of place, to show how unceremoniously the monarch was handled by the Reformer. "As to me," he says, "I do not cease my cry of the Gospel! the Gospel! Christ! Christ!—and my enemies are as ready with their answer—Custom! custom!—Ordinances! ordinances! Fathers! Fathers!—Your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God," says Paul—And the

Apostle, by this thunderclap from heaven, at once overturns and disperses, as the wind scatters the dust, all the foolish thoughts of such an one as Henry. "Papists!" he exclaims, in conclusion, "will you never have done with your vain attempts? Do, then, what ye list. Notwithstanding it must still come to pass, that popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, sin, and all that is not Jesus Christ, or in Jesus Christ, must fall and perish before the power of this gospel, which I, Martin Luther, have preached."

But what sincere love of truth, and conscientious regard for the religious rights of his subjects, should have done thoroughly, was soon after partially effected by the agency of Henry's own imperious and headstrong passions. He had in early life, by a papal dispensation, married Catharine of Arragon, his brother Arthur's widow, but now professedly from conscientious scruples, but really, doubtless, from his affection for Anne Boleyn, he desired the pope to set aside that dispensation, and pronounce the marriage void. The pontiff fearing, if he should do this, the displeasure of Charles the Fifth, Catharine's nephew, and yet not willing to alienate the king by a peremptory refusal, continued, under various pretexts, to delay his decision. At length wearied with protracted negotiations, the king, at the suggestion of Cranmer, resolved to obtain the opinions of the great universities of Christendom on the lawfulness of the union; these made answer that marriage with a deceased brother's wife was contrary to the law of God, and therefore the king, without the pope's sanction, repudiated Catharine, and was privately married to Anne. Henry having thus quarrelled with the pontiff, determined to abolish his supremacy over the English Church; having found means to awe the clergy into submission, that body declared him, in convocation at Canterbury, A. D. 1531, the Protector and supreme head of the Church and clergy of England; Parliament also, in the commencement of the year 1534, passed a bill abolishing papal supremacy in England, and declaring the king to be supreme head of the English Church.

Such were the events that burst the fetters which bound

England to papal Rome. It sprung, not from a deep and holy abhorrence of her corruptions and usurpations, but from one of the many shameful amours of this abandoned and self-willed monarch. "And it rendered it at once a matter of impossibility," says Hetherington, "for the Church of England to prosecute its own reformation, according to the deliberate judgment of its most enlightened members, whatever might be their opinion of the requirements of the Word of God." The truth of this remark soon became apparent. The Church during Henry's reign, notwithstanding all the efforts of Cranmer and his associates, remained essentially popish. The main difference was, that she had transferred the tiara from the pope abroad to a pope at home. As the supreme head of the Church, Henry was as absolute and despotic as the Roman pontiff; the clergy were quite as worldly, the worship as formal, and the people as debased as they were before. The Bible was, indeed, ordered to be translated, but few of the people could read it, and those who could, were obliged to understand it according to the traditions of the first four centuries, as they might be doled out to them by their priests. The monastic institutions were abolished, it is true, but their wealth flowed into the royal treasury, and was partly employed to create six new prelates to lord it over God's heritage.

In a convocation of the clergy, A. D. 1536, certain articles of religion were agreed upon and confirmed by the king. By these the people were required to believe that baptism was necessary to salvation, that they must confess and receive absolution from a priest, that Christ's real body was present in the Eucharist, that images were to be worshipped, that saints were to be invoked, and there was a purgatory. Besides this, these articles provided that certain ceremonies should be still continued, such as the wearing of priestly vestments, the sprinkling of holy water, bearing candles on Candlemas-day, giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, bearing palm on Palm-Sunday, and creeping to the cross on Good Friday.\* After this, A. D. 1539, Parliament passed an act

\* Burnet, Vol. I., pp. 346, 350.

setting forth six Articles of Religion, which receiving the royal assent, had the force of a law. These Articles inculcated, 1st, The doctrine of transubstantiation; 2d, That the cup should be withheld from the laity: 3d, The celibacy of the priests; 4th, The vows of chastity; 5th, The continuation of private masses; 6th, That auricular confession should be retained. It was moreover *humanely* provided that all those who should preach, speak or write against the first article, were to be judged heretics and burned; while those who preached against or disputed the others were *only* to be judged felons and put to death without benefit of clergy. A piece of clemency which resembles that of the *merciful Inquisitors of Arragon*, who having condemned certain victims to have their right hands cut off and then hanged, were graciously pleased to commute the sentence of such as had turned witnesses against their brethren, into being hanged first and having their hands cut off afterwards. Such was the extent of the misnamed reformation effected in England by Henry the Eighth, and this state of things continued until the death of that fierce, capricious, and profligate monarch in the first month of the year 1547.

He was succeeded by his son Edward the Sixth, when that prince was but nine years of age. Edward having been educated under Protestant tutors, and being surrounded by Protestant advisers, the work of reforming some of the grosser errors of the Church commenced. Images and relics were removed from the churches, the clergy were permitted to marry, and the public prayers translated into the English tongue. To remedy the deplorable ignorance which everywhere prevailed among the clergy, homilies were prepared for their use, explanatory of the most important doctrines and duties of Christianity. In the year 1552 forty-two Articles of Religion were drawn up chiefly by Cranmer and Ridley, and published by the king's authority. These articles contained a system of doctrine, resembling that of the Church of Geneva, and took decided ground against all those Romish errors which had been so pertinaciously retained by Henry the Eighth. Still many of the popish practices and ceremonies

were retained, such as the prelaey and established ritual of worship, and the wearing of priestly vestments. Some in the Church were strenuous for a thorough reform from all departures from primitive spiritual worship. And Edward himself is said to have lamented that he could not restore the discipline of the Church to its primitive simplicity, "because several of the bishops, some through age, some through ignorance, some on account of their ill name and some out of love to popery, were opposed to the design." But this excellent prince, who, had he lived, would doubtless have used his utmost exertion to have completed what had been begun, died A. D. 1553, universally lamented, in the sixteenth year of his age.

He was succeeded by his sister Mary, the daughter of Henry and Catharine of Arragon. Possessed of all the Spanish bigotry of her mother, she at once restored the English Church to its former vassalage to Rome. A most furious persecution was commenced against all who had favored the Reformation, and been instrumental in the rejection of the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. Archbishop Cranmer, and hundreds of men and women, perished at the stake, while thousands of others, who were fortunate enough to escape, sought in foreign lands an asylum from the merciless fury of their bloody queen.

The career of this cruel woman was cut short by death; and on the accession of Elizabeth, A. D. 1558, an Act of Supremacy was soon passed, which again severed the kingdom from the papal see. But it is one of the inevitable and sad consequences of the union of Church and State, that the nature of the doctrines imposed upon the people depends, more or less, upon the worldly caprice of the sovereign. Elizabeth was at heart a papist; and had the pope acceded to her terms, England would doubtless have remained in the communion of the Roman Church. She believed in transubstantiation, in images, and in the mass; and was, moreover, inordinately fond of pomp, and show, and ceremony, in religion. So that instead of carrying on the work of reformation, which her brother Edward had so zealously



commenced, she "was rather inclined," as Hume observes, "to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish ritual." The Forty-two Articles of that prince were, therefore, changed for the worse, into the Thirty-nine of the present English Church. The present system of that hierarchy was then stereotyped for after-ages; and those excellent men, who had imbibed the love of a more simple and spiritual worship, and who now began to establish dissenting congregations in the realm, were persecuted by this haughtiest of the Tudors with remorseless severity. But "while the sovereign authority checked these excesses," as Hume is pleased to style them, "the flame was confined, not extinguished; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burst out in the succeeding reigns, to the destruction of the Church and monarchy."

In the year 1603, Elizabeth was succeeded in the throne by James of Scotland. James, who was educated a Presbyterian, used to say before his accession, that "the service of the Episcopal Church was an evil-said mass in English; that its order of bishops smelled vilely of popish pride; that the book of common-prayer was an English mass-book; and that the surplice, copes, and ceremonies, were outward badges of popery." But no sooner was the English crown upon the head of this pedantic and weak-minded king, than a complete revolution was effected in all his sentiments on this subject. Intoxicated with his ecclesiastical supremacy, and captivated by the fawning sycophancy of the English prelates, he soon adopted the well-known motto, "No Bishop, no King." Laws of the severest character were now passed, and rigorously executed against non-conformists. They were incapacitated to sue for their lawful debts; they were imprisoned for life; they were denied Christian burial; and some, even, were burned at the stake: so that multitudes of these oppressed people exiled themselves from their native land, and sought in the Western world what was denied them at home—the privilege of worshipping their Maker in spirit and in truth.

James was succeeded, A. D. 1625, by his son, Charles the First. The pedantic and vainglorious father was styled by his

flatterers a second Solomon, but his ill-guided and ill-fated successor may well be likened, by the sober pen of history, to the foolish Rehoboam. The language of the British people on his accession to the throne, was that of oppressed Israel, to the youthful Hebrew king: "Thy father made our yoke grievous; now, therefore, ease thou somewhat the grievous servitude of thy father, and his heavy yoke that he put upon us, and we will serve thee." But this most infatuated and unfortunate of the Stuarts, instead of listening to this earnest remonstrance, "answered them roughly; saying, my father made your yoke heavy, but I will add thereto; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." The extravagant lengths to which he stretched his royal prerogative, and the high-handed despotism with which he invaded the civil and religious rights of his subjects, finally brought his own head to the block, and drove forth his children into a disgraceful exile. It was during this turbulent and eventful reign that those people first appeared, whose origin and history form the subject of the present volume.

Two centuries have since rolled away, and the followers of that George Fox, who was despised by the world as a poor dreaming fanatic, still exist, as a large and respected society, in that very land where their fathers were whipped and imprisoned with the offscourings of the earth. Two centuries have rolled away, and in the western wilderness, where the victims of kingly and prelatic rage sought an asylum with the savage and the wild beast, a vast and growing empire of civil and religious freedom has been founded; and here, too, are the followers of Fox to be seen, in city and in country, remarkable for their simplicity and uprightness, worshipping the Lord in spirit and in truth. But though priestcraft has been deprived of her former power, she still watches to regain her dominion. But let us learn wisdom from the lessons of the past.

"Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not again entangled with the yoke of bondage." Remember that vigilance—eternal, unsleeping vigilance, is the only security for civil and religious freedom.

# HISTORY OF FRIENDS.

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## CHAPTER I.

THOMAS CRANMER was appointed by King Henry the Eighth Archbishop of the See of Canterbury, and 1536. when he assumed the power of that office, used every means to reform the errors of the Church of Rome. He petitioned the king, with whom he stood high in favor, to proceed at once towards reforming the abuses of the Church, and proposed that the following points required immediate investigation, as many persons had suffered death for seeming offences, which were soon discovered to be errors. 1st, Is there a purgatory? 2d, Whether deceased Saints ought to be invoked? 3d, In what light are images to be regarded?

Soon after the above recommendation, Thomas Cromwell, one of the ministers of the kingdom, published some injunctions in the king's name, requiring all churchmen not to recommend the use of images, relics, or pilgrimages, but to instruct them in their own language, in the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. This was the first great step towards the translation of the Bible; and Cranmer using his power for that object, the Holy Book was published the following year. The king's order was imme-

diately issued, directing the Clergy to place the Bible in the churches, for the benefit of all who desired to read the  
 1539. Scriptures in their native tongue. But Cranmer was not satisfied until he gained permission for the general introduction of the Bible among the people. He was, however, still a believer of the corporeal presence of Christ, in the Sacrament, and remained a zealous advocate of that doctrinal point of the existing Church, until the reign  
 1549. of Edward the Sixth, when he was induced by Nicholas Ridley, who afterwards suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary, to make inquiry into the truth of the principle, and discover the absurdity of such positions. Cranmer soon became aware of the superstition of the belief, and suppressed it, together with many others of like nature. It is strange that a man possessing such a meek temper, could give his vote for the burning of those whom he considered heretics; as in the case of John Nicholson, *alias* Lambert, in the reign of Henry VIII., for denying the corporeal presence of Christ, in the Sacrament; Joan Bocher, under Edward VI., for denying that Christ had taken flesh from the Virgin Mary; and George Parr, during the  
 1556. same reign, for not believing in the deity of Christ. He exhibited in these actions a wrong zeal for religion, and no doubt came to that conclusion, when he was forced to undergo the same punishment during the bloody reign of Queen Mary.

The bishops, under Queen Elizabeth, were content with the reformations made by Cranmer, yet it pleased God  
 1568. to raise others whose testimony was publicly excited against many of the remaining superstitions. Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson, although imprisoned by the queen's order, succeeded in gaining many followers, who were known by the name of Puritans. About  
 1583. this period, the people were somewhat enlightened in regard to the Church Articles of Faith, through the instrumentality of Robert Brown, a young student of Cambridge, and Richard Harrison, a schoolmaster, who jointly

published some works, proving that the Church of England was still considerably infected with Romish errors and 1593. superstitions. Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and

John Penry, were put to death for maintaining the doctrine they believed to be the truth, more through the instigation of the clergy, than by the desire of the queen.

When James the First ascended the throne, after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the followers of these men suffered much on account of their separation from the Church. In the reign of Charles the First, many went to New England, to avoid the persecution of the bishops, and afterwards rendered themselves notorious as cruel persecutors of pious people who settled amongst them. Thus clearly proving it was not a perfect reformation, though it had not always brought forth the same fruits of bitterness; the branches of the tree of superstitious institutions were broken, but the trunk remained unshaken. To make a clearer discovery of true religion, it was the will of God to destroy the great obstruction whereby the soul was deprived enjoying perfect peace with its Creator.

There were many separate societies in England at this time. The Seekers, in the beginning, promised much good, but their subsequent history establishes the fact, that their foundation was not on the Rock of Ages. It was during the latter end of the reign of Charles the First, that those persons, who became aware of a divine conviction in the conscience, and preached the immutable doctrine of an inward light, began to increase in numbers, and form a separate religious society. They have been accused of many exorbitant absurdities, both in life and doctrine, and the name of Quakers was tauntingly imposed on them.

In their rise and progress, they met with many adversities, which no body of men would have been willing to have withstood, unless they sincerely believed they were right, in the doctrine they so truthfully advocated. They quietly submitted to bitter revilings, scornful mockings, rude abuses, and bloody blows, from their persecutors. Many suffered

hard imprisonment, banishment, tortures of every kind ; and history speaks of deaths in prison, on the gallows, and at the stake. Amid all these vicissitudes, we have many noble instances of unfeigned godliness, sincere love, extraordinary meekness, singular patience, ardent zeal, undaunted courage, and unshaken steadfastness. No age or period has afforded more powerful examples of virtuous resolution to accomplish what is right and good.

George Fox was born at Drayton, in Leicestershire, in the seventh month (July). His father, Christopher Fox, 1624. was an honest weaver, who led such a virtuous life, that his neighbors called him "Righteous Christer." His mother, Mary Lago, was an upright woman, and of the stock of martyrs: both were members of the Church of England. It is said of George Fox, that even in his minority he exhibited a spirit of gravity and staidness of mind seldom observed in children. Although from a child it was plainly seen that his views of religion were different from his brethren, still his parents endeavored to train him up in the common way of worship. At the age of 11, he could read and write, and endeavored to live a pure and righteous life, to be faithful in all things, inwardly to God and outwardly to man. Thus living and growing in virtue, some of his relations expressed a wish to have him educated for a priest in one of the religious schools ; but this was contrary to his wish, and he was placed as an apprentice to a shoemaker, who also dealt in wool and cattle. His chief delight in his master's employment was in taking charge of the sheep, and he soon became a successful shepherd, which was, an eminent author has said, "A just emblem of his after-ministry and service." In his dealings he made frequent use of the word "verily," and acted so strictly to its meaning, that those who knew him would frequently say, "If George says verily, there is no altering him."

Throughout all England were exhibited tokens of the beginning of a civil war, in which religion was somewhat interested. New forms and ceremonies were introduced at

the communion-table, and those preachers who did not obey them were neglected, while those who promoted rites that favored Popery were advanced. This caused an insurrection; and Charles the First, accused by the Parliament of encroaching upon their privileges, raised an army and secured many fortified places. Soon after, a battle was fought between the Royalists and the Parliament, near Edge Hill, in Warwickshire, in which neither party gained much advantage.

During his nineteenth year, George Fox attended a fair with some of his associates, at which an incident took place, and regarding it as a divine admonition, he resolved to leave his relations, break off all familiar fellowship with men, and lead a separate and retired life. On the 9th of the ninth month (September) he went to Lutterworth, and continued to wander from place to place, until he arrived at Barnet in the month of June.

After passing through many severe temptations, he went to London in a miserable state of mind, hoping to find some relief among the famous professors of that city; but he found them ignorant in regard to the spiritual welfare of the soul. On hearing that his parents were unhappy during his absence, he returned to Leicestershire. Here he associated with many priests, and conversed freely on all the subjects of interest for the salvation of the soul. Nathaniel Stevens, then priest of Drayton, once asked him, why Christ cried out on the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The reply was considered unique: "At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for them, as he was a man; but died not, as he was God: and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world."

During this year George Fox spent much of his time in solitude, waiting patiently on the Lord, whilst he became aware of the truth of those principles of re-

ligion, which have since been recognized by the Society of Friends or Quakers.

England was still in the midst of a revolution. Parliament exerted all its power for the introduction of the Presbyterian Directory, and the expulsion of the Bishops. The King was defeated by an army of untrained bands, near Naseby, and escaped to Scotland, but was delivered to the English soon after. The Churchmen were at variance with each other, and many persons claimed seats in Parliament, who were opposed to the established mode of worship.

George Fox made a religious tour through Derbyshire, and proceeded to Nottinghamshire, where he met Elizabeth 1647. Hooten, a woman whose history will be recorded in the sequel, and held several meetings and religious discourses. In the writings of Gerard Croes, we find that his clothes were made of leather, on account of the simplicity of that dress, and travelling from place to place, a stranger, they needed very little mending or repairing. He was a steady reader of holy writ, but kept aloof from all professions and churches, because he could not bring his mind to see the usefulness of the many forms and ceremonies so entirely disconnected with spiritual religion. The first sermons he preached were short, powerful and full of truth; many were convinced of their errors, and returned to the true light of the Gospel. A person by the name of Brown on his death-bed prophesied many strange occurrences, and amongst the rest, "that George Fox should be made instrumental by the Lord to the conversion of people." And of some very prominent men of that period, he foretold "that they should come to nothing," which was fulfilled, though he did not live to see it. At this time George Fox had many sorrows and troubles, passed through many temptations, in all of which he was the victor; but to give an account of his condition we will use his own words.

"I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words; for I



had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought which covered the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal power of God, which brought me through those things, was that which afterwards shook the nation, priests, professors and people. Then could I say, I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt and the grave; but by the eternal power of God, I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it unto the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat, that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it: and for this I mourned with tears."

Towards the latter end of this year, the state affairs of England became more and more unsettled; the king thinking himself no longer safe at Hampton Court, withdrew to the Isle of Wight, whilst Parliament still insisted on the abrogation of Episcopacy, and the entire command of the military forces; this the king was not willing to grant, and he was no longer regarded as a sovereign claiming obedience of the Parliament.

Whilst these intestine troubles were raging with some violence throughout the kingdom, the minds of many 1648. were exercised in regard to their future welfare. George Fox attended many meetings of the priests and professors at different places, and whenever he spoke, the power of the truth of his remarks made many converts. He had an idea of studying medicine, but he felt called on by God to enter into a spiritual labor. He became aware that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ, and those who believed it were free from condemnation, and were the children of light. He believed God had given a measure of his spirit to all men, and that with it alone they could truly serve the Lord; and that his grace, which brings salvation, was able to reconcile them to God.

He now went forth to preach the everlasting Gospel, and

use all the good God had given him in endeavoring to reform men of their evil ways and practices. About this time he suffered the anger of some persons high in station, on account of refusing to take off his hat in their presence. "He believed that the hat-honor was an honor from below, which the Lord would lay in the dust, and stain it; that it was an honor which the proud look for, without seeking the honor which came from God alone; that it was an honor invented by men in their fall, who therefore were offended if it were not given them; though they would be looked upon as church members and good Christians; whereas Christ himself said, 'How can ye believe, who receive honor of one another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?' That it was an honor, which, in relation to the outward ceremony, was the same as was given to God; so that in the sign of reverence, no distinction was made between the Creator and the creature. The saying of the word *you* to a single person went a degree farther; for not only the kings and princes among the Heathens and Jews, had not been offended when they were addressed by the word 'Thee' or 'Thou,' but experience proved that this was the language in which God was spoken to, in all religious assemblies."

Whilst the king was almost powerless on the Isle of Wight, the Duke of York, his second son, then fourteen years of age, disguised himself in woman's apparel, and fled to Holland, where he joined his eldest brother, the Prince of Wales, who two years before had gone to France. They joined some English men-of-war, whose commanders favored the king, and proceeded to the Downs for the purpose of capturing the ships sailing out of London. On their arrival a negotiation was pending between the king and Parliament, but the treaty was strongly opposed by the army, the great instrument to the downfall of the king. Several members were expelled from Parliament, and they resolved to break off all communication between their body and the sovereign. After a short imprisonment at Windsor, he was arraigned as

guilty of high treason, before a number of judges appointed by Parliament for that purpose, among whom was Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant General of the Kingdom. The king did not recognize the court a lawful body, and on refusing to answer the charges preferred against him, was, on the 27th of January, sentenced to suffer death as an enemy to the Commonwealth. The Prince of Wales applied to the States General of the United Provinces at the Hague for assistance, and they sent two Ambassadors to the Parliament, who entreated in vain for the pardon of the king. Parliament declared it treason for any one to endeavor to promote Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king of England; the House of Peers was abolished, and they assumed the government of the nation under the title of "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England." The Prince of Wales was, however, proclaimed by the Scots at Edinburgh to be king of Great Britain, which was a repetition of the rule the English had worked in the case of the death of the late king's father in the year 1625.

## CHAPTER II.

GEORGE FOX still continued to bear his testimony against all the sins of the times. He testified against wakes, 1649. may-games, plays, shows, and all the means by which people were led into vanity, or became forgetful of the fear of God. At one time he attended a meeting of his friends at Nottingham, and seeing from the top of a hill the church of the town, he felt it his duty to preach against that idol temple and its worshippers. The priest selected his text from the following words of the Apostle, 2 Pet. i. 19. "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well who take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." In explanation he told his hearers that this was the scripture by which they were to try all doctrines, religions and opinions. George Fox hearing this, felt the power of God within him, directing him to bear testimony against this false doctrine. He arose amid the congregation, and said, "Oh! no, it is not the scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led unto all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, and persecuted him and his Apostles; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost." For saying these words the police seized him, and after an examination before the officers of the town, he was cast into an offensive prison. His words at the steeple-house

made a deep impression on the hearts of many; and the high sheriff introduced him in the midst of his family, who were led to examine the truth of his doctrine, and soon became aware of the power of the Lord. He held meetings in the sheriff's mansion, and many eminent persons attended to his warnings. A great change came over the character of Reckless, the sheriff, and he went forth to preach repentance in the market-places of his native town. The magistrates could endure this no longer, and ordered him back to the common prison, to await his trial at the coming session of the Court of Assizes. The sitting, however, was allowed to pass over without bringing George Fox to the bar of the court; and after a weary imprisonment of some months, he was again set at liberty.

In his wanderings he chanced to stop at Mansfield-Woodhouse, where, finding a distracted woman under the care of a physician, who had tried in vain to relieve her, he spoke to her in the name of the Lord, and bade her be quiet and still. The effect of these words settled her mind, and on becoming sane she received the doctrine of truth, in the belief of which she continued until death. In this place he also went to the church in order to declare the word of God, but he was beaten out, placed in the stocks, and at last stoned out of the town. He next went to Leicestershire, accompanied by several of his friends, and visited a sect of people who were imprisoned for their religion. He found they were blasphemers, who believed they were gods, and after conversing with them in jail for a long time, they were made sensible of their position, and soon after one of them published a book of recantation, which action secured their release. At Twy-Cross he addressed the excisemen, and warned them against oppressing the poor. At this town the physicians had declared a celebrated man to be at the point of death; George Fox went to his bed-side and entreated the Lord to restore him to health; and in passing through the town some time after he found the man had regained his strength, and was ever afterwards very affectionate towards the Society of Friends.

This year he went to Derby, and learning that one of the colonels of the army was to deliver a lecture in the church, 1650. he felt himself called upon to speak after the service, but he was arrested by the officers, examined before the magistrates, and committed, together with one of his followers, to the house of correction for six months, as a blasphemer. The following is the warrant issued for their imprisonment :

*To the Master of the House of Correction, in Derby, Greeting :—*We have sent you herewithal, the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham ; and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby, in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions contrary to the late Act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you, forthwith upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of good behavior, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October, 1650.

GER. BENNET.

NATH. BARTON.

It was during this term of imprisonment that the Society of Friends received the appellation of Quakers. It originated from the fact of George Fox bidding Gervas Bennett, one of the officers who committed him, and those around him, to tremble at the word of the Lord ! This odd name was sounded not only in England, but throughout the adjacent kingdoms, giving rise to many foolish and silly stories. Fretwell did not remain true to his faith, and through the intercession of the jailor, procured his liberty. Croes in his history has represented George Fox as entirely too ignorant

to be the founder of a religious society. He states, that he could neither write legibly nor express his meaning in writing. This is not true, although he was not distinguished as an elegant writer, yet he always was fortunate enough to render himself understood. His letters to the priests of Derby and the magistrates who committed him, clearly establish that point. He also wrote letters to Nathaniel Barton, Gervas Bennett, and to the bell-ringers of St. Peter's Church, in Derby, against the ringing of bells for joy, because it produces vanity and immorality.

His relations went before the magistrates, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds each, and many others to the amount of fifty pounds, if they would release him, and he would not give his testimony against the doctrines of the established Church, in that county. When they brought him before the officers, he refused to submit to such an arrangement, believing himself innocent of any misconduct or ill behavior. He was ordered back to prison, but the jailor granted him many liberties, not before enjoyed. His friends were somewhat offended at his conduct, and he wrote them the following letter :

"Would you have me to be bound to my good behavior from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord hath redeemed me from all these things; and the love of God hath brought me to loathe all wantonness, blessed be his name. They who are drunkards, and fighters, and swearers, have their liberty without bonds; and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you, nor any other, can justly accuse of these things, praised be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone; who hath all men's hearts in his hand."

To Nathaniel Barton, he soon after wrote another severe letter, placing his conduct in a strange and sinful light. He said that the Saviour told such men as him, "I was sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in." And when they replied, "When saw we thee in prison, and did

not come to thee?" He answered, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, ye did it not to me."

In this year Elizabeth Hooten, the first female preacher in the Society of Friends, felt herself called upon to go forth and preach the way of salvation. She was for a long time believed to be the first woman who ever preached in public assemblies, but in the History of the Troubles in England, a Dutch work, published at Dordt, in 1647, it will be found that it was no novelty in London for females to address religious meetings.

The state affairs of the kingdom were as unsettled as ever. The Scotch sent ambassadors to Holland for the purpose of urging Charles II. to abrogate Episcopacy and uphold the Covenant. The king, seeing no other way to regain his throne, agreed to the establishment of the Presbyterian Covenant, and arriving in Scotland, he made his entry into Edinburgh through the gate on which were placed the quarters of the Earl of Montrose. On the 16th of August the king issued a declaration, in which may be found the following words, which are regarded as an open confession of his father's crimes, and that by his conduct he had wronged and injured the nation.

"Though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honor the memory of his royal father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled, and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's hearkening to evil councils, and his opposition to the work of Reformation, and to the solemn League and Covenant (by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people hath been shed in these kingdoms) and for the idolatry of his mother."

The English did not favor this movement, and General Fairfax was ordered to proceed with his army to Scotland. Fairfax declined, it is generally believed on account of the advice of his wife, with whom the Presbyterian ministers held no small amount of influence. Oliver Cromwell was then created general of the national forces, and immediately



marching to Scotland, he defeated the Scottish army 1651. near Edinburgh. Notwithstanding their overthrow, the Scots crowned Charles II., in January, after taking a solemn oath to maintain and defend the Covenant.

During the latter part of George Fox's imprisonment in the Derby House of Correction, the officers who were recruiting in the neighborhood, by the advice of the soldiers, offered him a captain's commission in the new army enlisted to take up arms in favor of the Commonwealth, and against Charles Stuart. Although bold and valiant, yet his belief and feelings forbade him pursuing such a course, and in his reply he said: "That he could not do so, knowing, according to the doctrine of Apostle James, that all wars arise from the lusts, and that he had lived in the virtue of that life and power, that took away the occasion of all wars." For this refusal of what they considered a proffered honor, he was cast into a dungeon among rogues and felons. The laws of England were very severe at this period, and during his confinement George Fox wrote letters to the magistrates, proving that capital punishment was contrary to the law of God. A young woman was confined in the dungeon for stealing money from her master, and was sentenced to suffer death as a penalty for the offence. He became deeply interested in her case, used every exertion to gain a reprieve, and it was only after the grave was dug and when she stood upon the scaffold, that his warning words to the officers procured her pardon. Previous to being set at liberty, he wrote a serious exhortation to the magistrates, calling upon them to take into consideration the offences which those persons committed who were sentenced to suffer imprisonment. The following extract from the letter is to the point.

"I desire you to consider of these things, and search the Scriptures, and see whether any of the people of God did ever imprison any for religion; but were themselves imprisoned. I desire you to consider how it is written, that when the Church is met together, they may all prophesy, one by one, that all may hear, and all may learn, and all be com-

forted: and then, "If anything be revealed to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." Thus it was in the true church, and thus it ought to be. But it is not so in your assemblies; but he that teaches for hire may speak, and none may contradict him. Again, consider the liberty that was given to the Apostles, even among the unbelieving Jews: when after the reading the Law and the Prophets, the rulers of the synagogue said unto them, 'Ye men and brethren, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.' I desire you to consider in stillness, and strive not against the Lord, for he is stronger than you."

After remaining in Derby prison about a year, he was liberated, and immediately started on a religious tour through the neighboring counties, where he convinced Richard Farnsworth, James Naylor, and William Dewsbury, of the truth of the doctrine he preached so effectually, who in time all became good and upright ministers of the everlasting Gospel. At Malton, Boyes, one of the priests, offered him the use of the church. When he arrived at the building, he found one of the priests preaching to eleven hearers; but when he arose upon a high seat to address them, the church was crowded. He directed them to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would blot out all their sins, and turn them from the error of their ways. He explained many misconstrued passages of the Scripture, and pointed out the Spirit of God within themselves, by which alone they might come to God.

In the meantime, Charles the Second raised a new army, and marching into England, took Worcester without opposition. In September, however, his forces were defeated by Cromwell, and Charles was forced to seek shelter in a hollow oak, near the scene of combat. Clothed as a servant, he wandered through the country, escaping many hazards, until at last he sailed for the coast of Normandy, in France, where he arrived disheartened and dispirited.

The priest Boyes accompanied George Fox through several towns, and listened attentively to the words the good man spoke. At one place some persons called upon Boyes to pay some money due for tithes; but he told them he had enough, and would not take it. This anecdote proves that the preaching of the Word of God had made some impression on his heart.

Passing one night through the town of Patrington, George Fox applied for lodging at the public-house, but was denied admittance. He slept under a hedge, near the outskirt of the village, and in the morning was molested by some rude persons, who afterwards sought his forgiveness, promising to amend their lives. In this place he met one honest magistrate, who treated him as a brother and friend, as well as fulfilling his duty as a public officer, in issuing a warrant for the arrest of a professor of religion, for abusing George Fox, whilst standing in the church. So zealous was Justice Hotham to keep the peace, that he told George Fox, if he would seek the protection of the law when he was ill-treated, he should be dealt with fairly and honestly. Still he refused to take the benefit of outward power.

At Gainsbury, some worthless man had accused George Fox of declaring and believing he was Christ. On arriving at that place, crowds of persons attended him to the house of a friend, among whom was his accuser. He told them, in explanation, that Christ was within them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spoke through him unto them; not that he was Christ. He said to his false accuser, that he was a Judas, and that the end of Judas should be his. This satisfied the people, and they peaceably departed to their homes. Strange as it may appear, this Judas hung himself, and a stake was driven through his body. George Fox now went into Yorkshire. In Wainsworth he was beaten out of the church; at Doncaster he went to the church, and after the priest had finished his sermon, began to address the audience; but he was arrested, taken before the magistrates, and threatened

with death, if he should ever undertake to preach in that place again. At Tickhill, whither he went to preach, the clerk struck him violently in the face with his bible, and the people forced him out of the church, and dragged him through the streets. He addressed them mildly, and told them wherein they had dishonored Christianity by their conduct, and prayed that they might repent, and become true believers in the doctrine of Christ and the Gospel.

So far we have mentioned George Fox as the only preacher, among the Society of Friends. Ere this Thomas Aldam, Richard Farnsworth and William Dewsbury, had gone forth preaching the same principles of belief as were taught by Christ himself. The priest of Warnsworth procured from the magistrates a warrant for the arrest of George Fox and Thomas Aldam, to be executed in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire. The constable arrested Aldam, because he knew him, but refused to take George Fox on account of his being a stranger in the neighborhood. Marshall, the priest of this place, told some wonderful stories about the eminent founder of the Society of Friends. He says the reason so many people flocked to hear him speak, was because he usually carried bottles of ardent spirits with him, with which he frequently regaled them. Preaching such tales as these had a contrary effect to that which the priest expected, and many of his congregation refused to attend the church while he continued its minister. George Fox preached at the fair in Sedburg, and told the people that Christ alone taught them the only true way to God. It was here that Francis Howgill said, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes." At Firbank chapel in Westmoreland, he spoke for several hours to an auditory of more than a thousand people. He directed them to the spirit of God in themselves as the sole guide from error into the path of truth, uprightness and virtue; that they must become children of light and be led by the power of Christ unto God. He explained the parables and sayings of Christ, and taught the

true and right meaning of the Apostles' writings and epistles to the elect.

The power of the word he preached at this place was so effectual as to convince many of his hearers of its truth, amongst whom we find recorded the names of Francis Howgill and John Audland, both ministers of the religious society termed Independents, who, renouncing their former doctrines and refunding the money they had received for preaching to the parish of Colton in Lancashire, embraced those principles of Christ within, and that fundamental element of Christianity the waiting on Christ, not in outward temples, but in the secret of the soul.

### CHAPTER III.

JOHN AUDLAND was a young man, possessing a fine personal appearance, as well as many excellent traits of character, and a mild and gentle disposition. Gifted with talents of no common order, and having at command an extraordinary memory, at the age of eighteen he was a constant reader of the Holy Scriptures, and became very serious on the subject of the salvation of his soul. When he attained his majority, he became an eminent minister among the Independents, and strictly lived according to the doctrines which he then believed to be in unison with the word of God. On hearing George Fox's sermon at Firbank Chapel, he was led to inquire into the validity of the positions which he had assumed, and after a careful examination of his belief, the spirit of God within forced him to renounce it, and go forth preaching the true salvation to all without money and without price.

FRANCIS HOWGILL studied for the ministry in the University, and connected himself with the Episcopal Church. He was a zealous, upright man; and after a thorough examination into the follies, ceremonies, and superstitions that still remained attached to the mode of worship in that Church, he resolved to abandon their doctrines, and soon after joined the Independents. Still he was dissatisfied, and finding, notwithstanding all his fasting, praying, and good works, that he continued to remain in sin, he turned to the inward light, and saw the unfruitfulness of all his actions, and became aware that he had been blind and ignorant in relation to the true principle of the Gospel. Like a lamb, he was led from darkness to light; and in due time his heart was filled with joy, and he went forth clothed in an armor of

true faith, freely preaching repentance to all. It was not long before those by whom he was once beloved, became his inveterate enemies, and holding some influence over the magistrates, he was imprisoned at Appleby, in Westmoreland, where he remained a long time.

It was at Under Barrow that George Fox convinced Edward Burrough, that he was living a stranger to God and his holy works. His clear reasoning, the truth and determination in which he expressed the simplicity of the doctrine of Christ, and the confidence he placed in Him alone to redeem mankind from sin, was proved so triumphantly, that Burrough was made a convert in the faith, and became an eminent servant in the hands of the living God. He was born in the barony of Kendal, in Westmoreland, and received such an education as the schools of the immediate neighborhood afforded to the children of humble but respectable parents. Early marks of genius were discovered whilst he was a boy; and finding no pleasure in the ordinary occupations of youth, his chief delight was reading the Holy Scriptures, in which he was well versed when only twelve years old. His parents were Episcopalians, and he was educated in their belief and mode of worship; but he frequently attended meetings of the Presbyterians, and preferring their doctrine in many things to the established Church, he joined that body, and suffered the displeasure of his parents and friends. At the age of seventeen, he became sensible of his position; having the Truth in his comprehension, but wanting the experimental knowledge of its efficacy in the redemption of the soul from sin, and he was almost lost in the belief of "Whom God loves once, he loves for ever." He grew weary of the teachings of the priests, and finding relief in the doctrine preached by George Fox, he became a member of the despised society of Quakers, for which action his father, in a fit of blind zeal, cast him off, and declared him an exile from his native home. During the period of his ministry in the cause of Christ, he suffered many adversities: reviled, despised by

- his former associates ; slandered by the tongue of calumny, and driven from place to place, he only sought relief from the purity of Truth and the consciousness of living in the principles of the disciples of Jesus. Like a hero, and with all the determination of a martyr, he braved every danger, to uphold that belief of Christ within, which had brought joy to his soul, and sent him to preach the light to the people.

At Swarthmore, George Fox stopped at the house of Thomas Fell, a judge in Wales, where he met with a priest, named William Lampitt, who was pastor of the church at Ulverstone. The following day was one appointed by that priest for humiliation and prayer. He went thither, and after their service was finished, he requested permission to speak, which was granted, and he arose and said, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly ; but he is a Jew that is one inwardly ; and that is circumcision which is of the heart. Christ was the light of the world, and enlightened every man that cometh unto the world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God. That they were the prophet's words, and Christ's and the Apostles' words ; and that what they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord." He asked, "What have any to do with the Scriptures, if they come not to the Spirit that gave them faith ? You will say, Christ saith this, and the Apostles say this ; but what canst thou, O man, say thyself concerning this ? Art thou a child of the light ; dost thou walk in the light ; and what thou speakest, is it inwardly from God ?" He proved that God would teach his people by his Spirit, and bring them from their outward churches, and religions, and ways of worship. Margaret Fell, wife of the judge, stood in her pew weeping bitterly, her spirit crying to the Lord, 'We are all thieves ! we are all thieves ! We have taken the Scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves.' George Fox continued preaching against false prophets and their superstitious mode of worship, when John Sawrey, a justice of peace, ordered him to be taken away. Margaret Fell, and the priest also, who wished to please her, bid the officers to let him speak,



but the constable led him from the church, and he addressed a vast concourse in the graveyard.

In the evening he addressed Judge Fell's family and servants, and the word he spoke so effectually convinced them, that they embraced the Truth. It was here that William Caton became aware of his position, and enlisted under the humble banner of Christ.

Thomas Lawson, the eminent priest of Ramside, hearing that George Fox intended to address the inhabitants of that place, freely offered the use of his church, and at a previous meeting informed the people of the fact, and gave them a courteous invitation to attend. Here he declared in the powerful words of truth, the doctrine of religion as preached by Christ whilst on earth, and even the priest was so convinced of the error of his ways, that he left off preaching for hire, and in a short time became a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, and went out among the people, giving what he had received, freely and without price. At this time, Thomas Lawson was the most distinguished botanist that England could boast of, and he continued until death to become more enlightened in this beautiful and useful science.

After holding meetings, and converting many at Breerecliff and Gleaston, George Fox returned again to Swarthmore, in accordance with his own feelings, and at the request of Margaret Fell, who expected some trouble on the arrival of her husband, as some of his friends were going to incense him against the Quakers, and inform him of the conversion of his family to their doctrines. It was a sad message to the judge, and he returned home highly offended; but George Fox arriving in the evening, he spoke of the practice of Christ and the apostles in their day, how apostasy was introduced, and how the modern priests had departed from the true faith. Judge Fell asked him whether he was the man, whose name he had often heard mentioned in parliament, and on being answered in the affirmative, was perfectly satisfied and convinced in his own judgment. The Quakers having no place to congregate, he freely gave the use of his hall, until

they built a meeting-house in the year 1690. A few years before his death, his presence was missed from the church; and although he did not attend the meetings of the Society of Friends, yet he loved them, and was convinced of the simplicity and faith of their belief.

After remaining a few days at the house of Judge Fell, George Fox went to Lancaster and preached in the market-house, but he was dragged out and stoned through the streets. Travelling from place to place, meeting with rude opposition, he returned to Swarthmore, and as several priests were assembled at Judge Fell's residence, he asked them, "Whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, commanding them to go to any people, and declare the word of the Lord to them." One said, "I can speak of my experience as much as you." George Fox replied, "That experience was one thing, but to go with a message, and to have the word of the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had, was quite another." Thomas Taylor, an old priest, confessed before Judge Fell, "that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, but he spake his experiences, and the experiences of the Saints in former ages." The old priest was convinced, and accompanied George Fox to Westmoreland, and declared to the people in Crosland church, how he was converted, and like the good Scribe brought forth new and old things from his treasury, to the people, and showed them how the priests had departed from the faith.

The priests were greatly offended at the Quakers for preaching without hire, and endeavored to persecute them by every means in their power. Among the Society at this time we find the following list of ministers were zealously preaching the doctrine in churches, market-houses, and at the corners of the streets. Thomas Taylor, John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Cam, Edward Burrough, Richard Hulberthorn, Miles Halhead, and many others, who remained in their native places, frequently teaching the people the way to God.

The priest Lampitt, of Ulverstone, finding that the Quakers held meetings in private houses, said to the people, that they left the temple, and went of Jeroboam's calves-houses. But he was told that the old mass-houses, which were called churches, were more like Jeroboam's calves-house; though men strove to persuade people that such a building was the house of God; whereas, Christ was the head of the Church, and not the head of an old house, and that the Apostle, speaking of Christ, said, "Whose house we are." Heb. iii. 6. Some Parliament soldiers observing over a church-door, these words of the Patriarch Jacob, when God had appeared to him in a dream, "This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven," could not endure to see the superstition concerning these buildings, and destroyed some of the words, so as to make it read, "This is none other but the House, and this is the gate."

While George Fox was preaching in the church of Ulverstone, Justice Sawrey delivered him into the hands of a rude multitude of people, who dragged him out of town, and beat him with staves until he fell apparently dead upon the common; but strengthened by the Power above, he arose, and stretching out his arms, exclaimed, "Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks." A mason immediately struck him with his rule on the hand, which so benumbed his arm, that for a moment he lost control over it, and the people thought he had lost the use of his hand for ever. On recovering his strength, they told him if he would give them some money they would not disturb him. But he showed them their false view of Christianity, and said it was an evidence of the unprofitable ministry of the priests. After returning to Ulverstone, and performing the duty required of him, he went with James Naylor to Walney Island, but on stepping from the boat they were attacked by about forty men, with staves and other weapons, who endeavored to prevent their landing. George Fox was knocked down and stunned, and on recovering his senses, found the wife of one of his followers stoning him, while her husband,

James Lancaster, was striving to prevent his being hurt. The people had persuaded this woman, that George Fox had bewitched her husband, and promised to kill him when he came to the island. But the invisible power of God preserved him in this case as it had done in many others of a similar character. On arriving at Swarthmore, Justices Sawrey and Thomson issued a warrant for his arrest, but Judge Fell made it void, and sent out warrants for the arrest of the rioters on Walney Island. Some of them left the country, and what is remarkable, James Lancaster's wife repented of her evil conduct, and afterward became a member of the Society.

At a certain meeting George Fox was accused of blasphemy and the priests, to maintain this libel, summoned false witnesses to testify to the truth of the assertion before the court. Judge Fell, on his way to attend the sessions, told George Fox, "That such a matter had never been brought before him, and that he did not know what to do in the case." The reply was, "When Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests accused him of many false things, he stood still all that while, till they had done; and when they had done, Felix the Governor beckoned to him to speak for himself, and so thou mayest do by me." About forty priests appeared against him, charging him for having uttered blasphemy in saying, "That God taught deceit; and that the Scripture contained nothing but a parcel of lies." To substantiate this charge they brought three young men as witnesses, one a priest and the other two sons of priests, who were examined on oath and betrayed their confusion in open court. Several persons declared that they heard one of the witnesses say, "If he had power, he would make Fox deny his profession; and that he would take away his life." The young priest also confessed that he would not have meddled with the trial, but another priest sent for him and requested him to do it. After all the witnesses to sustain the charge of blasphemy were examined, several men of reputation affirmed before the court that no such words, as had been sworn

against George Fox, were spoken by him at the meeting. Colonel West, one of the judges upon the bench, was so well pleased with the evidence that he gave Fox permission to speak. Rising in the court, he said, "That the Holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the Prophets and Apostles learnt, and also know the Holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same Spirit of God must also be in those that come to know and understand the Scriptures; by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, and with one another; and that without that Spirit, they could know neither God, nor Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have right fellowship with one another." A priest named Jackus rose in a passion and said, "That the Spirit and the letter were inseparable." George Fox answered by saying, "Then every one that hath the letter, hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scripture." The judges ordered Jackus to prove the position he had assumed, adding, "That according to his reasoning they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the Scriptures." The other priests in attendance endeavored to disguise the true meaning of his words; but the judges observing that the testimony of the witnesses was contradictory, discharged the suit. Justice Benson, the Mayor of Lancaster, and Thomas Briggs, who afterwards became a faithful minister of the Gospel, were all convinced during the trial, of the truth as preached by George Fox.

The number of ministers now in the Society amounted to twenty-five, many of whom met with the same rude opposition and ill-treatment, as was almost daily poured upon their eminent founder. But like Christians and humble followers of Christ, they suffered without resistance; and nothing could stop the progress of the doctrine they preached to the people in the churches, market-houses and other public places. Many who had once treated them like wolves, afterwards

became as gentle as the lambs, and suffered like martyrs to the treatment they themselves had frequently committed.

The Quakers have often been charged with stubbornness and obstinacy, on account of their patience in surmounting the greatest difficulties, yet there is not a case where they have not meekly resigned to whatever befel them. It appears by what Cyprian, who died a martyr, wrote to Demetrian, that this was the universal practice of the primitive Christians.

The priests were angry on account of the acquittal of George Fox, and procured the influence of some officers, who laid the case before Judge Windham, at the Lancaster Assizes. He commanded Colonel West, Clerk of the Assizes, to issue a warrant for the arrest of George Fox; but the Colonel speaking boldly in his defence, and avowing he was innocent of the charges brought against him, the Judge became incensed, and ordered him to do it, or leave his seat. The Colonel plainly told him that he would not do it, but would offer up his estate and his body also, if he was not innocent. When George Fox arrived at Lancaster, he heard of the warrant, and presented himself before Judge Fell and Colonel West: "What," exclaimed the Colonel, "are you come into the dragon's mouth!" After sojourning some days in town, he returned to Swarthmore, and wrote several letters to the magistrates and priests who were foremost in persecution. His letter to Justice Sawrey was very severe, yet truthful. He told him he was the beginner of persecution in the north, the first one who raised evil-doers against the innocent and harmless, and that he should not prosper. He called upon him not to take the words of God in his mouth until he reformed, and departed from iniquity. It is remarkable that Justice Sawrey, who was in reality the first persecutor of the north, did not die a natural death, but was drowned.

At Westmoreland, some foolish persons intended to harm George Fox, but were prevented by Judge Benson and others. He held a large meeting at Grayrigg, where the

crowd pressed the fence down, and a priest who was present said, "that the devil frightened him, and took away one side of the house." This simple affair was published, and many were so ignorant as to believe it true. At another meeting, the same priest said, that the Scriptures were the Word of God; but George Fox replied that they were the words of God, but not Christ, who is the Word. Many of the priest's followers were convinced of the folly of his assertions, and were led to seek God within, and not in the superstitious forms practised in outward temples.

## CHAPTER IV.

A FIERCE war was now raging between England and Holland; and Charles the Second, then in exile, re-1653. quested the Dutch to receive him in their navy, without any command, which was courteously refused by the States-General. Oliver Cromwell, in the meantime, was striving for the supreme authority of England, and in April he dissolved the "long Parliament," which had been convened nearly thirteen years. On hearing Judge Fell and Justice Benson converse together on the subject of Parliament, strange as it may appear, George Fox told them, "Before that day two weeks, the Parliament should be broken up, and the Speaker plucked out of his chair." At the dissolution of Parliament, the Speaker was unwilling to leave his place, whereon General Harrison took him by the hand, and led him from the chair.

George Fox hearing that some persons in Cumberland threatened his life, if he visited them again, went there; but no person venturing to carry the threat into execution, he went to Swarthmore, and the Word he preached convinced Justice Anthony Pearson, who soon after joined the Society, despised as it was at this period. He next visited Bootle, where he found a priest from London preaching about False Prophets, Anti-Christ, and Deceivers, and attempting to prove these epithets were applicable to the Quakers. George Fox took the same passages of Scripture, and showed how the priests were the false prophets spoken of in Holy Writ, and directed the people to Christ, as the great teacher in spiritual matters. The priest addressed the people in the church-yard, and told them, "That this man hath gotten all



the honest men and women in Lancashire to him ; and now he comes here to do the same." George Fox replied, "What wilt thou have left ? And what have the priests left them, but such as themselves ? For if it be the honest that receive the Truth, and are turned to Christ, then it must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art." Something was said about tithes ; and the priest was told, " That Christ had ended the tithing-priesthood, and had sent forth his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely."

At Cockermouth he found James Lancaster preaching to the people under a large tree ; and, going into the church, he spoke for three hours, converting several hundred persons to the doctrine of Truth. He met a woman at Brigham whom he had never seen before, and told her she was living a lewd life, and her heart was not right before the Lord. She answered, that many could tell her of her outward sins, but of her inward, none could." After reasoning with her, she promised reformation, and soon after became a member of the Society. Whilst preaching in the Abbey at Carlisle, a Baptist minister asked him, " What must be damned ?" He answered, " That which spake in him must be damned." Then he examined the doctrine of election and reprobation, and the Baptist minister who had never heard it explained in that manner before was forced to admit the truth of the demonstration. He visited the soldiers at the Castle, and directed them to the measure of the spirit of Christ in themselves, by which they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. Having been threatened with rude treatment if he appeared in public places, he showed his willingness to obey God in preference to man, by preaching at the market-house on a market day, declaring that the day of the Lord was coming upon all deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandize ; and that they should put away all cheating, and speak the truth to one another. The first day of the week he went to the church, and after the priest had finished, he arose and said, " He came to speak the Word of Life and salvation from the Lord amongst

them." He delivered his message so eloquently that many persons trembled, and imagined the church trembled also. The mob attacked him with stones and staves, but the Governor sent some soldiers to quell the tumult, who, taking George Fox by the hand, led him to the house of their lieutenant, where he had a very quiet meeting. The next day he was submitted to a long examination before the magistrates, and finally was committed to prison as a blasphemer and heretic. The high-sheriff of the county, Wilfrey Lawson, was so eager to hang him, that he said he himself would guard him to execution. The prison into which he was cast was a dirty, filthy place, full of thieves, murderers, and lewd women. The under-jailor was a wicked man, and one day finding George Fox at the grate window receiving some food his friends had sent him, he beat the prisoner most unmercifully and brought a fiddler to play, thinking thereby to destroy his meekness and vex him. But while the musician was performing he sang a hymn so loud as to drown the sound of the instrument, and the fiddler left the prison confounded. The wife of Justice Benson refused to eat except with George Fox at the bars of the dungeon window. Afterwards she was imprisoned at York, whilst pregnant, for having spoken her belief before a priest, and at the time of delivery, she was not permitted to leave the prison. James Parnel, a lad about sixteen years old, visited George Fox in the dungeon at Carlisle, and became convinced of his teachings; and notwithstanding his extreme youth the Lord made him an eloquent minister of the gospel; becoming a zealous promoter of religion, he was distinguished for his learning and piety, and suffered many trials and temptations in daily bearing the cross of Christ through life.

THOMAS BRIGGS was a faithful preacher of repentance, and went through many cities, towns and villages, crying: "Repent, repent, for the mighty, terrible day of the Lord God of Power is appearing, wherein no worker of iniquity shall stand before him, who is of purer eyes than to behold in-

iquity; for he willeth not the death of a sinner; and if ye repent, and turn to him, he will abundantly pardon." Whilst speaking in the church of Warrington in Lancashire, he was violently knocked down, for speaking a few words after the priest had finished his sermon. A minister taking hold of his hair, struck his head against a stone and pulled out a handful, which he threw on the ground, and Briggs, taking it up, said, "Not one hair of my head shall fall without my father's permission." At another time he spoke to the priest of Cheshire, and one of his hearers observing the priest was offended, struck Briggs to the ground; and upon getting up he was struck again, and so severely that he became weak with the loss of blood. Soon after the man who smote him fell sick, and on his death-bed exclaimed, "Oh! that I had not smitten the Quaker." Passing through Salisbury, calling the inhabitants to repentance, Briggs was apprehended and the oath proffered under pretence of his being a Jesuit. He said, "He could not swear, because Christ had commanded, Swear not at all;" for which he was sent to prison and detained a month. In the streets of Yarmouth, he proclaimed "The terrible day of the Lord, that all might repent and fear Him, that made heaven and earth, and the sea." The magistrates ordered him to be led out of town, which being done, he returned another way and fulfilled his service to his satisfaction.

At Lynn, his persecutors set a large mastiff dog upon him, but it fawned and allowed him to depart in peace. Thus he went from place to place, passing through many dangers, but still performing his duty joyfully and making many converts to his faith. In his pilgrimage he was wonderfully preserved, and after a pious ministry of thirty years, both in England and America, he died in Cheshire at the advanced age of eighty years.

Miles Halhead was one of the first preachers among the Society of Friends, and the first of that persuasion that was imprisoned at Kendal. Whilst on his way to visit some friends, and assist at a meeting to be held in Swarthmore,

he met on the road-side the wife of Justice Thomas Preston, and passing her without the ordinary salutation, she became offended, and sent her servant back to punish him, which order he obeyed. Halhead said, "O thou Jezebel! Thou proud Jezebel! Canst thou not permit and suffer the servant of the Lord to pass by thee quietly?" She spit in his face, saying, "I scorn to fall down at thy words." Halhead replied, "Thou proud Jezebel, thou that hardenest thy heart and brazenest thy face against the Lord, and his servant, the Lord will plead with thee in his own time, and set in order before thee, the things that thou hast done this day to his servant."

About three months after, Halhead felt a desire to speak with her, went to Houlker-hall, and knocking at the door she came to open it, and he not knowing her, asked, "If she was the woman of the house." She said, "No; but if you would speak with Mrs. Preston, I will entreat her to come to you." She went in, and returning with another woman, said, "Here is Mrs. Preston." Halhead became aware that the first woman was Mrs. Preston, and said, "Woman, how darest thou lie before the Lord and his servant? Thou art the woman I came to speak to. Woman, hear what the Lord's servant hath to say unto thee. O, woman! harden not thy heart against the Lord; for if thou dost, he will cut thee off in his sore displeasure; therefore take warning in time, and fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou mayst end thy days in peace." Several years after, when George Fox was in prison at Lancaster, she visited him, and among other things told him, "That his tongue should be cut off and he be hanged." She died a stranger to the Lord and his blessed gospel.

Three years after, Halhead met a person, whilst riding near Houlker-hall, who stopped him and said, "Friend, I have something to say unto you, which hath lain upon me this long time. I am the man that about three years ago, at the command of my mistress, did beat you very sore, for which I have been very much troubled, more than for any-

thing that ever I did in all my life. For truly, night and day it hath been often in my heart that I did not well in beating an innocent man, that never did me hurt or harm. I pray you forgive me and desire the Lord to forgive me, that I may be at peace and quiet in my mind." He was freely forgiven, and at the same time some good council was imparted. He went to Skipton, Bradford, Leeds and Halifax, declaring the gospel, without meeting with much persecution, except at the first named place, where he was severely beaten and left for dead, but in a few hours he recovered from the shock.

After visiting many other places he returned to his home, at Mountjoy, Underbarrow, in the county of Westmoreland. His wife was exceedingly angry on account of his joining the Friends and going forth to preach the gospel, and would often say, "Would to God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the ale-house; but now I can't tell where to find my husband." But her child dying, she considered it a token of God's displeasure, and became reconciled to the society of which her husband was a minister. Intending to preach at Stanley Chapel in Lancashire, he was denied admittance at the door, but waiting until the congregation came out for an opportunity to address them, he met with some severe treatment. A Captain William Rawlinson, and another person, threw him over the churchyard wall, which bruised him so much that he did not regain his strength for many days. Travelling to Furneiss in Lancashire, he went to the residence of Captain Adam Sands, where he found many professors and priest Lampitt preaching to the people. When he entered Lampitt was silent, and on Captain Sands asking, "What is the matter, are you not well?" he replied, "I am well, but I shall speak no more as long as this dumb devil is in the house." "Why," said Sands, "this man is quiet, and saith nothing to you; I pray you, sir, go on in the name of the Lord, and if he trouble or molest you in my house, I will send him to Lancaster castle." But the priest would not proceed until Captain Sands took

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Halhead by the hand and led him out of the house. After this occurrence Miles Halhead went to Newcastle, and told the officers and priests of that town, "That God's anger was kindled against them, because they had shut the kingdom of Heaven against men, and would not enter themselves, nor suffer them that would." He was imprisoned; but the mayor and sheriff, thinking it was wrong to cast an innocent man into prison, set him at liberty, and he spoke to the people at several public places, making many converts to the Lord.

The new Parliament was now assembled, consisting of a certain number of persons from each county and city in England, Ireland, and Scotland, nominated at Westminster by a council of officers. To this body Cromwell gave an instrument or commission, delivering into their care the supreme authority of the nation. A statement of the situation of George Fox in the Carlisle dungeon, was laid before this body, and they addressed letters to the magistrates, making inquiry into the case. Aware that he was falsely accused of speaking blasphemous words, he wrote a letter, challenging all who did not believe his doctrine, to contradict it in public, since he was ready to prove any assertion he had ever made. He also wrote to the justices of Carlisle, showing the injustice of their actions, and that it was the doctrine of the false church to persecute all who dare oppose their sinfulness, and mode of worship. Justice Benson and Anthony Pearson having been denied admittance into the dungeon, wrote a letter to the magistrates, priests and people of Carlisle, describing the wickedness of persecution, and the reward of all persecutors; that those who imprisoned George Fox were worse than the heathens who cast Paul into prison, because his friends were admitted to see him. However, Pearson went to the dungeon with the Governor, who, finding the miserable condition of the place, required the jailors to give securities for their good behavior, and put the under-jailor, who treated Fox so cruelly, in the prison with him. His persecutors, beginning to feel alarmed on account

of Parliament noticing their conduct, gave him his liberty, and he went to Thomas Bewly's, near Coldbeck, in Cumberland, where he met a Baptist minister, and converted him to his belief in the faith.

Robert Widders, accompanied by the Baptist minister, went to Coldbeck church, and found a priest named Hutton addressing the people. In attempting to reply to some of his remarks, Widders was dragged into the yard, and horribly mangled by some rude persons, who also took a sword from the Baptist, which weapon he never wore afterwards, and freely gave up his inheritance of the appropriation of tithes. On the same day, Widders went seven miles, to the Ackton church, where he told priest Nichols that he was an enemy to Christ, and that the hand of the Lord was against him. William Briscoe, justice of Crofton, ordered the constable to arrest him; and after submitting to a long examination, the justice issued a warrant to cast him into prison, but feeling that he was doing an innocent man injustice, he recalled the summons, and let Widders go free.

After visiting many places, and speaking the Word of God in numerous churches, he arrived at Shipton, in Yorkshire, and in the church reproved priest Webster, for having departed from the doctrine of the inward light, of which he was once convinced. He was arrested, and taken before a justice, who told him, "He had broken the law, by disturbing the minister and the people, and that it was in his power to send him prisoner to York Castle." Widders replied, "Send me to jail thither if thou darest; for I appeal to the witness of God in my conscience." The justice was a very mild man, and taking him by the hand, told him he was free.

Robert Widders refused to pay tithes, because he believed it was wrong; and on that account his estate suffered many embarrassments. But this was the portion of many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the members of this Society; but they suffered it all, believing that they were storing a treasure in a place where the rude hand of persecution could never enter. Many cases, however, are on record, of

the conversion of those who have been cruel persecutors, and afterwards themselves suffered in a similar manner for conscience sake. The ministers in the Society of Friends chiefly visited those churches whose priests they believed to be corrupt and dishonest. Hence Thomas Curtis, who was a captain in Cromwell's army, on becoming a Friend, wrote a letter to Samuel Well, priest of Banbury, in which may be found the following language: "To thy shame, remember, I know thee scandalous. How often hast thou sat evening after evening at cards, and sometimes all nights, playing and sometimes compelling me to play with thee for money; yet then thou wast called of the world a minister, and now art thou turned persecutor." It was not strange, then, that the Friends called these ministers hirelings, when on the restoration of Charles the Second they preached in favor of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, which they had before denounced as false and idolatrous, and putting on their surplice, retained their "livings and benefices." This great change was not effected without leading people to examine into their religion in a serious manner, and many were convinced that the ministers were hypocrites, and not fit to be the servants of the Lord.

At this time, George Fox was travelling through the north of England, holding large meetings, and addressing the people at every town on his route. Whilst recommending the doctrine of perfection at Derwentwater, in Northumberland, he was contradicted, and to prove his position, he said, "Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the devil and the fall; but that Christ who came to destroy the devil, said, be ye perfect." One of the professors answered, "That Job said, shall mortal man be more pure than his Master? The heavens are not clean in his sight. God charged his angels with folly." The professors were shown "That it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against him." They replied, "That the outward body was the body of death and sin." George Fox said,



“That Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and sin got into them ; and that men would have bodies, when the body of sin and death was put off again, and they were renewed into the image of God again, by Christ Jesus.”

The established Church were afraid that the hospitality of the Friends would impoverish them, but they were blessed and increased without want. One of the daughters of Judge Fell once told William Sewel, “That her father having been abroad, and coming home with his servants, found the shed so full of the horses of strange guests (for Margaret, his wife, had cleared the stable where they first stood, to make room for her husband’s own horses), that he said to his wife, this was the way to be eaten out, and that they themselves should soon be in want of hay.” His wife said in a kind manner, “That she did not believe when the year was at an end, they should have the less for that.” The proverb was verified, “That charity doth not impoverish ;” for that year they raised a large quantity of hay, and had many tons for sale.

The truth of this was also experienced by many, for persons refused to deal with them on account of using “Thee” and “Thou,” when the mass of persons made use of “you.” But the Friends became distinguished for their integrity and uprightness, and persons dealt with them in preference to those of their own church. It was an affair of no uncommon nature, to hear persons from the country, when they came to town, ask, “Where dwells a draper, or a tailor, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker?” Through the fear of God they were honest in their business, and George Fox wrote, exhorting them to deny themselves, and walk daily beneath the cross of Christ.

Morgan Floyd, the priest of Wrexham, in Wales, sent two of his congregation to the north of England to inquire what was the true belief of the Quakers. Both of them were convinced of the doctrine of the Society, and one of them, John-ap-John, became a minister of the gospel, but the other afterwards departed from the faith.

Before the end of this year, Parliament resigned their power into the hands of Cromwell, and his Council of Field Officers declared, "That henceforth the chief rule of the nation should be entrusted to a single person, and that this person should be Oliver Cromwell, Chief General of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; that his title should be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the dominions belonging thereunto; who is to have a Council of twenty-one persons to assist him in administering the government." On the 16th of December, the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, attended Cromwell and his Council at Westminster, where Major-General Lambert presented him with the civic sword, and the first instrument of government was read. It authorized the Protector to call a Parliament every three years, and the first meeting should be on the 13th of September; that he should not have power to dissolve a parliament before it had been in session five months; that all bills passed by parliament, and presented to the Protector for his signature, and not returned within twenty days, should become laws; that his Council should not exceed twenty-one and not be under thirteen; that after his death the Council should have power to choose another Protector; that no Protector after him should hold the office of Chief General of the army, and that he alone should have the power to make war or peace. He took the oath, and the Commissioners delivered their seals, and the mayor of London his sword, which were returned with advice to use them well. He created knights, and was attended with all the prodigality of royalty, whilst he lived in the same palace from which he and his adherents had driven Charles the First.

## CHAPTER V.

At the beginning of this year, Oliver Cromwell, vested with the supreme authority of the nation, required the 1654. oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth to be administered to all the officers and soldiers of the army. Many persons connected with the army were convinced of the doctrines of Friends, and wished to withdraw from military duty. When the oath was tendered they declared that, in obedience to Christ's command, they were not permitted to swear, and the officers disbanded them. John Stubbs, a man distinguished for his learning and wisdom, whom George Fox converted when a prisoner at Carlisle, was among them, and after they were disbanded, became a minister of the Gospel. George Fox arranging the different meetings in the north, went to Synder-Hill Green, where he addressed an assembly of some thousand persons, convincing many, among whom was Ambrose Rigg, who had been pious from his youth, and now joined the Friends, thereby causing his parents and relations great displeasure at what they were pleased to call his strange conduct.

The Society of Friends had now sixty ministers in the service of the gospel, and although suffering many abuses and privations, yet they breasted themselves to every storm. Of these, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough went to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, to Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and all the others to different places throughout the kingdom. Well aware they had undertaken a serious and mighty reformation, George Fox wrote an epistle to these ministers, admonishing them to "prudence, and advising them to know the seed of God which bruise

the head of the serpent; also to know the power of God, and the cross of Christ; to receive wisdom from God by the Light; and not to be hasty, but exercise patience and prudence in all things.

The first regular meeting in London was held at Robert Dring's dwelling in Watling street, where Edward Burrough and Antony Pearson addressed the people. It appears, however, that Isabella Buttery circulated some of George Fox's works, and held several meetings in London, previous to the arrival of Burrough. It was a custom during the summer season, for the tradesmen, mechanics and apprentices, to assemble in the fields during the evening near the outskirts of the city, for the purpose of trying their skill in wrestling, boxing, &c. In passing the place one evening, he observed a crowd of spectators gathered around a strong and dexterous champion, who had been victorious over three others, and was waiting in the ring for a fourth to enter the list; he stepped into the circle and addressed them on the wickedness generally attendant on such amusements, and pointed out the path from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. Though this was something of a novelty introduced very unexpectedly amid their pleasures, yet it was fraught with much good, and he felt that the work he had done that day was the cause of healing many a broken heart and contrite spirit. A contemporary author gave him the somewhat peculiar cognomen of "a son of thunder;" and so far as it was applied to his power in speaking faithfully the word of God, no doubt it was well merited, for it is said "he had a peculiar talent to thunder against sin and iniquity." As an humble minister of the Lord, he was blessed with glorious success in healing, with the Oil of Joy, the spirits of the mourner in Zion. The beautiful compliment of Francis Howgill, after his death, was truthfully meritorious, "Shall days, or months, or years wear out thy name, as though thou hadst had no being? Oh, nay. Shall not thy noble and valiant acts and mighty works which thou hast wrought, through the power of Him that separated thee from

the womb, live in generations to come? Oh, yes. The children yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in the generations who yet have no being."

Oliver Cromwell received a visit from Howgill, also a letter relating to his salvation, and concerning some laws passed which tended to crush the Spirit of God at work amongst the people. Although Friends were imprisoned for refusing to swear and not paying tithes to maintain the established Church, yet these laws were made previous to the reign of the Protector; but many were abrogated under the reign of William and Mary. The first settled meeting in London was held at the house of Sarah Sawyer in Aldersgate street, and the first female preacher that ever spoke at a public meeting in London was Anne Downer, who married a man named Greenwell, and on becoming a widow, united herself to George Whitehead.

The Society increasing very rapidly, it was found necessary to hold the meeting in different sections of the city; one was held at a private house in Tower street, and another at Gerard Roberts' in Thomas Apostles. But the houses became so crowded that a large hall was rented in the building called the "Bull and Mouth," in Martins' Le Grand, near Aldersgate street.

The priest and professors of the different sects wrote many books, misrepresenting the doctrines of Friends, and calling their ministers false prophets and blasphemers; but they were answered and every argument refuted by Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill.

John Audland and Thomas Airey went to Bristol in the seventh month (July), and spoke with success at several meetings of the Independents and Baptists. After visiting London by way of Plymouth, John Audland returned to Bristol in company with John Camm, where they converted Josiah Cole, George Bishop, Charles Marshall and Barbara Blaugdone. When Howgill and Burrough had completed their arrangement with regard to the London meeting, they

went to Bristol, where some tokens of a spirit of persecution were beginning to appear. The magistrates commanded them to leave the city, but they replied, "that they came not in the will of man; and that when He who moved them to come thither did move them also to depart, they should obey. That if they were guilty of the transgression of any law, they were not unwilling to suffer by it; that they were free-born Englishmen, being free from the transgression of any law; and that if by violence they were put out of the city, they were ready to suffer and would not resist."

John Camm and John Audland, in passing a bridge on their road to Breslenton, where they intended to hold a meeting, were attacked by a mob and cruelly beaten back into the city. The officers of the garrison, fearing that the Royalists or friends of Charles II. might take the benefit of such an opportunity to raise an insurrection, caused three of the ringleaders of the mob to be arrested; but the next day five hundred persons assembled at the prison and gained the release of their seditious comrades. Many outrages were committed on the Friends, mostly by apprentices, who were instigated to deeds of violence and tumult by their masters. Riots were the order of the day, and the court of sessions were forced to issue the following order: "That the constables do, once in every fortnight, make diligent search within their several wards, for all strangers and suspicious persons; and that all people be forewarned not to be present at any tumult, or other unlawful assembly, or gather into companies or multitudes in the streets, on pain of being punished according to law." It plainly appeared that this order was intended to include the meetings of the Society of Friends, and stamp them as "unlawful assemblies." Yet this was contrary to the letter and spirit of the Protector's speech on the ninth month (September), in which occurs the following sentence:

"Is not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? So long as there is liberty for the supreme magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church gov-

ernment he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? Liberty of conscience is a natural right, and he that would have it ought to give it; having liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed, that hath been the vanity of our contests. Every sect saith, 'give me liberty;' but give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anyone else. Where is our ingenuity? Truly that is a thing that ought to be very reciprocal. The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle religion according to his conscience; and I may say it to you, and I can say it, all the money in the nation would not have tempted men to fight on such an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty, better than they had from Episcopacy, or than would have offered them from Scottish Presbytery, or an English either, if it had made such steps, or been as sharp and rigid as it threatened when it was first set up. This, I say, is a fundamental: it ought to be so; it is for us and the generations to come."

Cromwell would indeed have been a liberal and good man, if he had performed all that was asserted in the above, but he permitted many Friends to be persecuted under his government. In the conclusion of his speech, he said, "That he would sooner be willing to be rolled into his grave, and buried with infamy, than give his consent to the wilful throwing away of that government so testified unto in the fundamentals of it." He little thought then, that during the reign of Charles II. his corpse would be exhumed and buried with infamy, near a gallows.

Several Friends were still retained in Bristol prison, among whom was John Worryng, charged with having called a priest, Samuel Grimes, a devil. Worryng denied this, having merely remarked, "That the priest had said in a meeting, that in all things he did, he sinned; and if in all things, then as well in his preaching, as in other things; and he that sinneth is of the devil. If you will not believe me, believe the Scripture." Elizabeth Marshall was beaten with staves and imprisoned, for telling John Knowls, a priest, "This is

the word of the Lord to thee : I warn thee to repent and to mind the light of Christ in thy conscience."

Warrants were issued for the arrest of all the Quaker preachers by the mayor and magistrates of Bristol, one of the magistrates writing his name twice, to make sure it was down. They were branded as "persons of the Franciscan order in Rome," and persecuted as disturbers of the public peace. Thomas Robertson and Josiah Cole were committed to Newgate prison, for attempting to address the people after the priest had finished in Nicholas Church. The mayor and aldermen sent for Jeremy Hignel, and on entering the court, not taking off his hat, the mayor asked, "Whether he knew where he was." He answered, "In the presence of the Lord." "Are you not," said the mayor, "in the presence of the Lord's Justices?" He replied, "If you be the Lord's Justices, I am." The officers concluded he was a Quaker, and sent him to Newgate, where the keeper received him without a *mittimus*, and kept him a close prisoner for nineteen days. Daniel Wastfield received the same treatment from the hands of the mayor, confining him thirty-three days in prison; and when his child died, he was refused permission to see it before the burial. The magistrates also sent Christopher Birkhead to prison, for standing in Nicholas' Church with his hat on. The priest, Ralph Farmer, asked him, "What he stood there for?" and he replied "I stand in obedience to the righteous law of God, in my conscience: I have neither offended the law of God, nor the nation. A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land." Many others, innocent and harmless, received like treatment from the magistrates, who were incited to persecution by the arguments and persuasions of the priests. George Bishop and Dennis Hollester, who formerly were members of Parliament, wrote an account of these outrages, and sent them to the magistrates, hoping they would see the evil of persecution; but this proved vain, and they had an account published, so that Englishmen might see how the officers of Bristol treated the inhabitants. Some



author, on reading this account, said, "Was such a tyrannical iniquity and cruelty ever heard of in this nation? or would the ministers under King Charles have ventured to do so? Was not Strafford a mean transgressor in comparison to these?" Though Archbishop Laud was beheaded, it cannot be proved that the Episcopalians were such unrelenting persecutors as these pretended asserters of liberty of conscience, who having gained power, persecuted more fiercely than those they had driven out.

We will now turn to Norwich, the field selected for the ministry of Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead. The former was imprisoned in the Castle, for addressing the priest in the church-yard, and refusing to take off his hat before the magistrates, where he was kept nearly a year, writing several epistles to his friends, and his companion Whitehead preaching so effectually as to establish a settled meeting in the city before the expiration of the year. A short history of these two extraordinary men would not be uninteresting. Richard Hubberthorn was born in the north of Lancashire; and descending from respectable parents, he became an officer in the Parliament army. Inclined to piety from his youth, he frequently, whilst on military duty, exhorted the soldiers to be zealous in godliness; but on becoming a member of the Society of Friends, he left the army, and enlisted as an humble soldier under the banner of the Prince of Peace; not fighting with the outward sword, but with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. His sermons were generally mild, and delivered with all that humility which distinguished a follower of the lowly Jesus. George Whitehead was educated for a school teacher, and early convinced of the truth of the Gospel, he trained his scholars in the fear of the Lord. He usually attended the church of Orton, in Westmoreland; but the practice of singing psalms without the spirit, was so repulsive, that he entered into communion with Friends in 1652, when only seventeen years of age, and faithfully preached the living knowledge of God, upholding the Cross of Christ in all

trials, and pointing to the straight and narrow way that leads to the Tree of Life.

Toward the close of the month of June, two women, Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, went to Oxford, preaching repentance to the people, and exhorting the scholars of the college to godliness. They were cruelly and shamefully beaten and maltreated in every manner; one of them, Elizabeth Fletcher, remained in a painful condition until her death, which took place soon after. They were arrested and confined in Bocardo prison, for preaching in the Oxford church after the priest had finished his service. The mayor would not give his consent to the proceeding, saying: "Let those who have committed them, deal with them according to law, if they have transgressed any. I have nothing to say against them, but will provide them with victuals, clothes or money, if they want any." They were examined before Dr. Owen, Chancellor of the University, and charged with having blasphemed the name of God, abusing the Spirit of God, and dishonoring the grace of Christ. Without the consent of the mayor, they were sentenced to be whipped out of the city, which barbarous treatment was inflicted next morning, by an unwilling executioner.

Barbara Blandon received the doctrine of Truth through the ministry of John Audland and John Camm, which fact has been previously mentioned. Pious from childhood, she pursued her vocation as a school-teacher, until she became a member of the Society of Friends, when parents refused to send their children to her. She was cast into prison for exhorting the people to fear God, in the church of Marlborough, and when released she went to Isaac Burges, the magistrate who committed her, and made him admit, "that he knew her doctrine was truth, but he could not take up the cross to walk in that way." She was also imprisoned at Molton, Barnstable, Bedford, and a mastiff dog was let loose to destroy her, but it would not harm or touch her. She exhorted the people at the church in Great Torrington, for which act she was arrested by the constables and taken before the may-

or, who would not have imprisoned her, but for the instigation of the priests. She was severely beaten by the sheriff, and sent out of town with a company of gipsies, but she returned to visit the prisons before she went home to Bristol. Hearing of the imprisonment of Thomas Robinson and Ambrose Rigg at Basingstoke, she carried a letter to them from John Camm, but was denied entrance into the prison until she showed the letter to the mayor, who promised to release them as soon as possible. He faithfully kept his word, and her friends regained their liberty in a few weeks.

In the first month of this year, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, and Miles Bateman, went to Ireland, proclaiming the light of Christ in cities, towns, and villages, in churches and before magistrates, convincing many of their doctrine and the faith of Christ. On their return to England, Halhead and Lancaster went to Scotland, but found Christopher Fell, George Wilson, and John Grave, had been there before them, performing many good acts, and establishing meetings in several places. Nearly a year before any Friends appeared in Scotland, Alexander Hamilton erected a meeting-house, at Drumbourg, and also one at Heads, where the word was preached, and many were convinced. Lancaster and Halhead visited Dumfries, Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, and Stirling, speaking to the people, and exhorting them to turn from their wicked ways. They told the officers, "That the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, because they had not performed their promises, which they made to him in the day of their distresses, when their enemies encompassed them on every side; for then the Lord delivered them, and gave them victory; but they had returned Him evil for good, and committed violence against those He sent to declare his word amongst them."

The first regular meetings of the Society of Friends in Scotland were held at Drumbourg and Heads, and not long after they were established at Garshore, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen. The first Scottish preachers were William Osborn, Richard Lee, and Alexander Hamilton; concerning the

latter, is attached a singular circumstance of the judgment of God against the wicked. He formerly belonged to the Independents, and, on becoming converted to the faith of the Friends, the priest, Thomas Charters, threatened him with excommunication, if he did not return to his old belief. Hamilton warned him to forbear, or he would be visited with the anger of the holy God. Charters persisted, and walking in the churchyard two days before the time appointed, his horse kicked him in the side, and he died in the same hour which he had appointed to perform the service of excommunication.

Miles Halhead went to Berwick, in Northumberland, and addressed the mayor in the following language: "Friend, hear what the servant of the Lord hath to say unto thee. Give over persecuting the Lord's servants, whom he doth send in love to this town of Berwick, to show you the way that leads to life eternal. I charge thee, O man, touch not the Lord's Anointed, do not his prophets any harm, lest thou procure the anger of the living eternal God against thee." He was sent to prison to await his trial at the Court of Sessions. During his trial, one of the priests desired to ask him a question; to which Miles replied, "The Lord knows thy heart, O man, and at this present, has revealed thy thoughts to his servant; and, therefore, now I know thy heart also, thou high priest, and the question thou wouldst ask me; and if thou wilt promise me before the court, that if I tell thee the question thou would ask me, thou wilt deal plainly with me, I will not only tell thee thy query, but I will answer it." The priest said he would, and Miles replied: "Thy question is this; thou wouldst know whether I own Christ that died at Jerusalem, or not; and according to my promise I will answer it before this court, in the presence of the Lord God of heaven, I own no other Christ than Him that died at Jerusalem, and made a good confession before Pontius Pilate, to be the Light and Way that leads fallen man out of sin and evil, up to God Eternal, blessed for evermore." The priest admitted that was the question, and

the magistrate commanded the jailor to take him away, but he was soon released.

When George Fox left Synder-Hill-green, he travelled to Yorkshire, visiting all his friends, and the different meeting-houses, which he found in a flourishing condition. He converted the sheriff of Lincoln, who accompanied him to Nottinghamshire, where several Ranters opposed them at a meeting held at the house of Thomas Hammersley. When he reproved them for swearing, they said, Abraham, Jacob and Joseph swore. George Fox did not deny this, but replied, "Christ (who said, before Abraham was, I am) told his people to swear not at all. And Christ ends the prophets, as also the old priesthood, and the dispensation of Moses; and he reigns over the house of Jacob, and of Joseph, and saith, swear not at all. And God, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, saith, let all the angels of God worship Him, who saith, swear not at all. And as for the plea that men make for swearing to end their strife, Christ, who says, swear not at all, destroys the Devil and his works, who is the author of strife; for that is one of his works. And God said, this is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him. So the Son is to be heard, who forbids swearing; and the Apostle James, who did hear the Son of God, and followed him, and preached him, forbade also all oaths." Thomas Hammersley was summoned on a jury and admitted to serve without an oath, as foreman, and when he brought in the verdict, the judge declared, "That he had been on the bench a number of years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that which the Quaker brought in."

George Fox visited his relations at his birth-place (Drayton), and became engaged in a dispute with Nathaniel Stephens and another priest. The priest asked, "Where tithes were forbidden or ended." George Fox showed them in the 7th chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, that not only tithes, but the priesthood that took tithes, were ended; and that the law was ended and disannulled, by which the priesthood was made and tithes were commanded to be paid. Knowing

the priest Stephens' condition, and his manner of preaching, he told him, "That he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die; whereas the promises were to the seed, not to many seeds, but to one seed, Christ, who was one in male and female; for all were to be born again, before they could enter into the kingdom of God." The priest said, "He must not judge so." George Fox replied, "He that was spiritual, judged all things." The priest confessed, "that this was the full scripture meaning, and although Fox had come to the light of the sun, he must not put out my starlight." George Fox said, "That he would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his starlight, if it were true starlight, light from the morning-star; but that if he had anything from Christ or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching; seeing Christ commanded his ministers to give freely as they had received freely."

Stephens called him aside, and said, "If he was out of the way, George should pray for him; and if George was out of the way, he would pray for him; and that he would give George a form of words to pray by."

George Fox replied: "It seems thou dost not know whether thou art in the right way, or no; but I know that I am in the everlasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of. And thou wouldst give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou denyest the Common-prayer-book to pray by, as well as I. If thou wouldst have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not this to deny the Apostles' doctrine and practice, of praying by the Spirit as it gave words and utterance?" Many were convinced of the truth of this remark, and George Fox's father, who was a follower of the priest, striking his cane upon the ground, said, "Truly I see he that will but stand to the Truth, it will carry him out." Holding a meeting at Whetstone, some of the troopers attached to Colonel Hacker's regiment, arrested George Fox, and took him before the officers of the troop. The colonel told him, "He must go home, and keep at home, and not

go abroad to meetings." Fox replied, "That he and his friends were innocent people." The colonel sent him to the Protector, in custody of Captain Drury; and before they started, he went to Hacker's bed-side, praying that the Lord might forgive him, for, according to his judgment, he was a Pilate, and told him when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, then to remember what he had said to him. On arriving at London, the Protector required that he should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him, or the government, as it then was; and that he should write this, and set his hand to it. Fox wrote a letter to Oliver Cromwell, declaring in the presence of God, "That he denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any outward weapon, against him or any man; and that he was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the work of darkness; and to turn the people from darkness to light, and to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable Gospel, and from being evil-doers, which the magistrates' swords should be a terror to." Returning to the Mermaid, near Charing-Cross, they went to Whitehall, and Captain Drury took them before the Lord Protector, who asked him: "Why he and his friends quarrelled with the ministers?" Fox replied, "He did not quarrel with them; but they quarrelled with him and his friends. But," continued he, "if we own the prophets, Christ and the Apostles, we cannot uphold such teachers, prophets and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ and the Apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and spirit. That the prophets, Christ and his Apostles preached freely, and declared against them that did not declare freely, but preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, or preached for hire, being covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs, that could never have enough: and that they who had the same spirit, which Christ, the prophets and the Apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. That all Christendom had the scriptures, but they wanted the power and spirit, which they had who gave them forth; and

that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the scriptures, nor one with another." Cromwell several times remarked during the delivery, "It was very good, and it was the truth." As Fox was about to retire, Cromwell took him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Come again to my house; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to another, and I wish thee no more ill, than I do to my own soul." George Fox replied: "That if he did he wronged his own soul, and bid him hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his council and obey it: and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened." The Protector admitted it was true, and granted him liberty to hold meetings among his people at any place within the kingdom. Whilst in the custody of Captain Drury, he was often tauntingly called a Quaker, which name was first given to the Society of Friends by the Independents, but he afterwards came to George Fox, and told him the power of the Lord was upon him for scoffing at the believers of the inward light of Christ, and begged his forgiveness for the many injuries he had done their Society.

George Fox held crowded meetings in every section of London, increasing numbers to the society, and some belonging to Cromwell's court were also converted. During his sojourn in London he wrote many letters to his friends, and others, against pride, gaudy apparel, and the fashions of the world. He met with little persecution from the magistrates and priests whilst here, but his friends in other parts of the country, still continued to suffer for the propagation of their belief. Anne, wife of John Audland, was accused of blasphemy in the church of Banbury, and imprisoned in the common jail.

During this year, Cromwell concluded a peace with the United Netherlands, to obviate the trouble existing between England and that country. The Protector, fearful of an insurrection, stationed a guard at the door of the house of



Parliament, refusing admittance to those members who would not sign articles, promising to be faithful to the Lord Protector, and to make no alteration in the government, so long as it was in the hands of a single person, and the Parliament. This was a violation of the privileges of Parliament, and several members refusing their assent to the writing, were not admitted, and Cromwell dissolved their body after a session of five months. The young king, Charles, who lived in exile, left France and went to Cologne, on the Rhine, where he remained some time.

## CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE FOX still remained in London, discharging his duty to God, and continually striving to promote the good of his kingdom on earth. To the commissioners who were appointed for the trial of ministers, he wrote a letter, advising them to see whether they were not such whom the prophets, Christ and the Apostles disproved ; and who would admire their persons because of advantage, &c. He continued in the city until 1655, when he went to Bedfordshire, and held a large meeting at the house of John Crook, a justice of the peace, who was discharged from his office on becoming a member of the Society.

WILLIAM CATON, at the age of fourteen, was placed in Judge Fell's family as a companion for his son. Associating with such good company, he grew up in piety, and in his private devotions would freely pour out his heart before God in prayer. After studying Latin for some time, the judge removed him and his son to a school at Hauxhead, where better advantages were offered than at home. It will be recollected it was in the summer of 1652, that George Fox first came to Swarthmore, and went to Judge Fell's house. Caton became convinced of his doctrine, and at the age of seventeen his heart was full of joy, and he went to places of public worship, and in the streets, warning people to repentance. Judge Fell was unwilling to part with Caton, yet his wife said he was not going to enter the service of any man, but to labor for the Lord in proclaiming his everlasting Gospel. He visited Lancashire, Yorkshire, Norwich, Northamptonshire, and many other places, speaking in churches and public houses, consoling his friends in prison, and converting

many persons to the Faith. In the county of Kent, he was joined by John Stubbs, and in company they went to Dover. They addressed the people in the churches, but the mayor commanded the innkeeper, at whose house they lodged, to discharge them or suffer a penalty. Luke Howard, a shoemaker, who had heard William Caton in London, received them in his house, where they held many meetings, and Howard listened with no less satisfaction than Agrippa did to the speech of Apostle Paul, when he said to him, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." The mayor of the town sent four constables to arrest them, but Howard said the mayor had no lawful authority to have these men dragged out of his house and sent out of town. On leaving Dover, they visited many other towns in Kent, among which they made some stay at Lidd, where they convinced Samuel Fisher, who became a celebrated minister in the service of the Gospel.

SAMUEL FISHER was educated in the University for the ministry, and unlike most young men in the same study at that period, he was religious, and disliked the many ceremonies and customs practised as part of the worship of God in the schools. When he graduated, he became chaplain in the house of an eminent man, and afterwards procured a living at Lidd, worth about two hundred pounds a year. Thus employed for some time, he became convinced that infant baptism was a human institution, and to preach for wages was unlawful. Before Luke Howard knew the belief of Friends, he was not satisfied that singing the Psalms of David in public worship was the true way to worship God, and his master sent for Samuel Fisher, as a learned minister, to come and discourse with him. Howard told him, "That God was a spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and truth, of all those that would worship him acceptably. That it was contrary to truth for a proud man to sing :

'He was not puffed in mind, he had no scornful eye,  
He did not exercise himself in things that were too high,'

when he lived in pride, wherein God beheld him afar off.  
That it was very unbecoming for such an one to sing :

‘ Rivers of tears run down my eyes,  
Because other men keep not Thy laws,’

when he never knew a true sorrow and repentance for his own sins.” This reasoning had some effect on Fisher, and while he remained in the ministry he never gave out those Psalms of David which described his condition alone, for his congregation to sing. Preaching in the church became burdensome to his conscience, and in a short time he delivered to the bishop the commission he had received from him to preach. He rented a farm and turned grazier, by which means he supported his wife and family in ease and contentment. He was a teacher of the Baptists when William Caton and John Stubs came to Lidd, but remembering the scripture exhortation : “ Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for many thereby have entertained angels un-awares,” he received them in his house and entertained them during their stay. John Stubs having an opportunity to preach in the Baptist church, declared the word of God so effectually, that when he had finished, Fisher arose and impressed what he had said upon the minds of the people. Another teacher of the Baptists, George Hammond, delivered a sermon reproaching and censuring Friends for their strange belief, to which Fisher replied : “ Dear brother, you are very dear and near to me, but the Truth is nearer and dearer ; it is the everlasting Truth and Gospel which they hold forth.” In an address of some length he openly defended the Quakers and their faith, believing they were the true and humble disciples of Christ, in the way of salvation. Hammond reviled him, but he submitted to the abuse in a spirit of meekness and forbearance. During his life he wrote a work, called “ Rusticus ad Academicos,” in which he encountered the priests with their own weapons ; he was not only well educated, but gifted with talents of a superior order, and deeply read in the classics. He sometimes allowed himself the freedom of the prophet Elijah against the

prophets of Baal, in his arguments against the ceremonies of the church of his adversaries. Among his writings we also find a well composed epistle to the Jews, written in Hebrew, a language in which he was thoroughly instructed whilst in the University.

William Caton and John Stubbs left Lidd and went to Maidstone, where they were both arrested, placed in stocks and severely beaten, then imprisoned in the house of correction. Here they were nearly starved, for refusing to work, which demand they believed to be unjust, having committed no violation of the existing laws. A report of this cruelty of the officers excited sympathy in their behalf, and aroused many persons, who demanded their release, which was granted by the magistrate. They were led out of town separately, but rejoined each other in London, and felt it was the will of God that they should return again to Maidstone, which they did, and declared their message without being molested.

It was in the summer of this year that Thomas Caton went to Calais, France, and, a Scottish Lord acting as interpreter, held several meetings there; but returned soon after for the purpose of accompanying John Stubbs to Holland. They entered a ship at Yarmouth, bound to Flushing in Zealand, where they safely arrived; and for attempting to address the people, they were forced to leave the church. The same day they went to Middleburgh, and, after the priest had finished his sermon, Caton spoke to the people; but they would not listen to his words and made him leave their presence. At Rotterdam, in Holland, they held a meeting in an English merchant's house, but their words were not truly interpreted; and, meeting with no success, they returned again to England.

About the beginning of December they went in company to Scotland, and Caton addressed the congregation of a church in Berwick on the Tweed, for which he was taken before a magistrate and turned out of town. They travelled to Edinburgh, and finding some disorder in the meeting

through the unfaithfulness of some of its members, they made satisfactory arrangements and addressed them with ability and truth. The meeting was held at the house of William Osborn, who had been a lieutenant-colonel in the army, but on convincement, became a zealous minister in the Society at Edinburgh. While there, William Caton went to the church, and after the priest finished his service, spoke to the people, who forced him out, but a guard of soldiers conducted him back again with drawn swords. John Stubs returned to England, and Caton went to Glasgow, where he addressed a large assembly in the yard of the Cathedral, the English soldiers guarding him from the abuse of numerous ill-disposed persons who wished to do him personal violence.

When George Fox left Bedfordshire, he went through London to Kent, and in unison with Samuel Fisher, 1655. held a large meeting at Romney; from thence he went to Reading and addressed a multitude, among whom was George Bishop, of Bristol, a captain in the army, who was that day convinced, and in time became an eminent preacher.

It will be here necessary to notice the history and cruel suffering of JAMES PARNEL. He was born at Retford in Nottinghamshire, and educated in the best schools the country afforded. Before he was sixteen years old he was convinced by George Fox, for which he was rejected and despised by his relations. He was imprisoned at Cambridge for his zealous testimony, and afterwards, like a criminal, expelled from the city; but he returned and disputed with the students of the university, who treated him rudely, and taunted him with the name of Quaker. At the beginning of this year, when only eighteen years old, he preached at Felsted, Stebben, Witham, Cogshal, Halsted and many other places. In the summer he entered Colchester; and after the priest had finished his sermon on the first day of the week, he spoke to the congregation and disputed with him in the French school on the same day, where he con-

vinced Stephen Crisp who will be mentioned hereafter. While preaching at Nicholas' church, some one struck him with a cane, saying, "There, take that for Christ's sake;" he meekly replied, "Friend: I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake." He remained a few days in Colchester, and then journeyed to Coggeshall, where a fast was proclaimed to be held on the 12th of the seventh month [July], to pray for the errors of the Quakers. Parnel went to the Independent church, and the priest, Sammes, having called the Quakers disbelievers and deceivers, he felt it his duty to reply, and rising from his seat, he said, "This is the order of the true church, that all may speak one by one; and if anything be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace." He addressed the assembly in behalf of those called Quakers, and the priest having said their church was built upon a sandy foundation, he proved it otherwise, and said the priest was a false prophet. Some persons remarked, "He believed in no church;" but he replied, "I believe in the church in God." A priest, named Willis, here said, "He spoke nothing but nonsense when he talked about the church in God." Parnel took out his Bible, and read, 1st Thess. i. 1, where the Apostle writes to the Church, which is in God the Father. The priest was astonished, and Parnel told him, he blasphemed, in saying, the church in God was nonsense. Priest Stellum accused Parnel with uttering lies and slanders, and before permitting him to reply, arose in the pulpit and began to pray. The magistrate ordered Parnel to take off his hat, to which he told them to order the priest to put off his cap, and before he would be subject to their wills, he would pass out of the meeting-place, which he did. Justice Dionysius Wakering arrested him in the name of the Lord Protector, and he appeared before four justices, and six or seven priests, who committed him to the common jail at Colchester, and would not permit his friends to visit him. When the Court of Sessions sat at Chelmsford, a distance of 18 miles, he was chained with felons and murderers, and led thither. Judge Hills was on the bench, and when he appeared before the court, the

jailor took off his hat and cast it on the floor : the clerk read the indictment, and asked him if he was guilty. Parnel replied, "He was not guilty." A jury of twelve men were summoned, whose foreman was a drunkard. Priest Willis swore against him, as also did two justices. The accusations were : "That in a riotous manner he did enter into the parish church at Great Coggeshall ; that he there did stand up, and told the minister he blasphemed and spoke falsely, using many other reproachful words against him ; and that he could not give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life and conversation, appearing to be an idle person : he was also accused with contempt of the magistracy and of the ministry." To these he replied : "That he noways in a riotous manner entered the church, but came thither quietly and alone : for being followed by several boys that would have come in well after him, he had them to go in before, rather than go in disorderly, whereby to occasion any disturbance. That he had accused priest Willis of blasphemy when he said the church in God was nonsense ; but did not own himself to be a vagabond and idle person. And he did not think it indecent to call an unjust judge, unrighteous ; a persecutor, persecutor ; and a deceiver, deceiver. When the judge charged the jury, he told them, that if they did not find him guilty, the sin would lie upon their heads : thus condemning the prisoner before the jury had time to consider the case. After forcing a verdict on the jury, the judge fined him forty pounds for contempt of the magistrates and ministry. Parnel was carried back to the prison, an old ruinous castle, built, it is said, in the time of the ancient Romans, where he was to be confined until the fine was paid. The jailor and his wife treated him [with great cruelty ; when his friends brought him victuals, she persuaded the other prisoners to take them from him, and would not let him have a bed like the rest, but forced him to sleep upon the stones. Afterwards he was placed in a cell, the entrance of which was twelve feet from the ground ; the ladder was six feet too short, and he had to climb up and down with a rope



on the broken wall. Continuing in this moist place, his limbs grew benumbed, and one day, in climbing up to the entrance of his cell, he missed a step and fell, bruising his body severely, and fracturing his head. They put him in a cell below, underneath the other, where he became excessively weak for want of fresh air. William Talcot and Edward Grant offered their bond of forty pounds to the justice, Henry Barrington, and Thomas Shortland to be hostage for his safe return, if they would grant him leave to go to William Talcot's house until he recovered. This was denied, and one day he left his cell to walk in the narrow yard, which so incensed the jailor, that he locked the door, keeping him in the yard one of the coldest winter nights. Such treatment ruined his constitution, and after an imprisonment of eleven months, he fell sick and died. To Thomas Shortland and Aun Langley, who were with him at the hour of death, he said, "Here I die, innocently," and turning to Shortland, he remarked, "This death I must die, Thomas; I have seen great things; don't hold me, but let me go." Then he said again, "Will you hold me?" To which Aun answered, "No, dear heart, we will not hold thee." He had often said, "that one hour's sleep would cure him of all," and the last words he was heard to utter were, "Now I go," and falling into a gentle sleep he departed from all his miseries. So great was the malice of his persecutors, that in order to cover their guilt and shame, they spread a report among the people, that his death was caused by fasting for long intervals, and then eating immoderately.

It was in the year 1655, that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill went to Ireland, and remained more than six months, three of which were spent in Dublin, where they met with generous treatment from the people, and omitted no opportunity to declare their doctrine. They went to Cork, but Henry Cromwell, son of the Protector, who was at that time Lord Deputy of Ireland, ordered them to be brought back to Dublin, and in a short time banished them from the island. During their journey they convinced many,

among whom was William Ames, a Baptist teacher, and also a military officer, but on joining the Society of Friends he became an eminent minister.

The same day that Burrough and Howgill left Ireland, Barbara Blaugdon arrived there in a vessel bound to Cork, but driven by a storm into the harbor of Dublin. The seamen said the reason they were overtaken by a storm in their passage across the Channel, was because they had a Quaker in the ship, and they conspired to cast her overboard. On becoming aware of this plot, she went to the captain and told him, if he permitted such an action, her blood would be required at his hands. During the height of the tempest she went on deck, exhorting the seamen to look to God for support, and prayed that he might avert the danger. The priest who was on board, was so alarmed, he could say nothing, and the ship's crew said, " They were more beholden to her than to their priest, because she prayed for them ; and he for fear could not open his mouth to speak." At length they arrived safe in Dublin, and the captain acknowledged he was never in such a storm before without receiving some damage. Hearing that two Friends were banished the day before, she went to the house of the Lord Deputy, and desired to see him. At first she was not permitted to enter, but the Deputy, learning it was a woman who desired to see him, granted the request. She entered the chamber where he was seated, and told him, " To beware that he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the truth and persecuting the innocent ; but, like the wise Gamaliel, to let them alone ; for if it was of God, it would stand ; but if of man, it would fall. Further, that the enmity did not lie so much in himself, but he was stirred up to it by evil designing persons ; and that God's people were as dear to Him now, as ever ; and they that touched them, touched the apple of his eye. In the meanwhile, in his name, and by his power, there was much hurt done the people of God, all over the nation, and it would at last lie heavy upon him. Moreover, that the teachers of the people did cause them to err, and that he knew the

priest's condition." Here the deputy turned to the priest in the room, and said, "That's for you, Mr. Harrison; what have you to say?" He replied, "It was all very true, and very good, and he had nothing to say against it, if she spoke as she meant." Then she told the priest, "That the Spirit of God was true, and did speak as it meant, and meant as it spoke; but that men of corrupt minds did pervert the Scriptures, by putting their own imaginations and conceivings upon it, and so did deceive the people. But the holy men of God wrote, and gave forth the Scriptures, as they were inspired of the Holy Ghost; and that they were of no private interpretation, and could not be understood but by the same Spirit that gave them forth." After having delivered this message she went to her lodging, the house of Captain Rich, who, coming from the castle, said, "The Deputy was so sad and melancholy, after she had been with him, that he could not go to bowls, or any other pastime." She left Dublin and went to Cork, to see some relations and friends, who resided in that city. In every place she addressed the people, she was imprisoned, and once while speaking in the market-house, a butcher raised his cleaver to strike her, but his arm was caught by a woman behind him, and instantly some soldiers came and rescued her from danger. From Cork, she went to Bristol, England, but before long, she returned again to Ireland. The ship foundered near the Hungarian shore, two passengers only were lost—the rest, with the captain and crew, were saved by a small boat. When she arrived at Dublin, she went before the court of justice, exhorting the judges to righteousness; for which act she was cast into a filthy prison. When they arraigned her before the bar of the court for trial, the clerk asking her, "If she was guilty or not guilty," she replied, "That there was no guilt upon any one's conscience for what was done in obedience to the Lord God." Not answering in the form of words required before the court, she was ordered back to prison, where she suffered many privations and hardships. In this prison was an inn-keeper and his family, accused of murder, by the brother of

the person who had been murdered. The accuser could not enjoy the benefit of an estate unless he proved the murdered brother was dead; and he brought a man to prison as a witness, who said, he would prove that the man was killed at such an inn, and buried under a wall, and he accused the innkeeper, his wife, their man and maid, and a smith, of being guilty of the murder. Barbara hearing this, went to the witness, and asked him, "How he could conceal this murder so long, when he was, according to law, as guilty of it as any of them, if what he said were true?" At this question, he trembled and confessed, "That he had never before seen the accused people with his eyes, nor ever was in the place in his life, nor knew anything of it, but he was drawn in by the man who was to have the land, and was persuaded to witness the fact." Other prisoners heard the confession, and Barbara sent to the Deputy, desiring a priest to come and hear this acknowledgment of the innocence of the prisoners. The priest came, and the man confessed the same to him, and also before the judge of the court; but he afterwards denied what he had spoken, and the jailor would not permit Barbara to see him. She wrote a letter to the prisoners, and also to Judge Pepes, telling him, "The day of his death drew nigh, wherein he must give an account of his actions; and therefore he ought to take heed he did not condemn innocent people, having but one witness, in whose mouth so many lies were found, the others all saying they were innocent." They were, however, all condemned at their trial, and afterwards suffered death.

Barbara Blaugdon was soon released from prison, through the intercession of her friends, Sir William King, Colonel Fare and Lady Brown, who went before the judge, and after some trouble, obtained his consent to her discharge from prison. On regaining her liberty, she went to the church, where she found the judge; and she spoke to him, and addressed the people in relation to the injustice of his actions. That night he died, which caused much alarm; and the people admitted that to him Barbara had been a true pro-

phetess. She was arrested in Limerick and imprisoned, but was soon released, and returned again to England. On her passage the ship was attacked by a privateer and the passengers were robbed of all their money and goods.

In the beginning of this year, Miles Halhead went to London, and from thence to the city of Exeter in Devonshire, where he was imprisoned under the following circumstances. Thomas Salthouse, with whom he travelled, heard that George Brooks, a private belonging to the Nightingale frigate, had remarked after hearing M. Halhead and T. Salthouse preach at Plymouth, "That it was the eternal truth which they had spoken;" and expressed himself in favor of what they had uttered. T. Salthouse told Brooks that he had spoken many good words and fair speeches, but did he live the life he preached? He entered not by the door, but tried to get to heaven like a thief and a robber. That his praises were no better than those of the damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination, which she spoke concerning Paul and Silas, when she said, "These men are the servants of the most High God, which show unto us the way of salvation." Some dispute arose about the Trinity; hence Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse were accused of denying the Holy Three, that are in One. The court were at a loss how to decide the question; and in order to ensnare, bade them swear a solemn oath of adjuration of the Pope. To this they answered: "In the presence of the Eternal God, and before all these people, we do deny with as much detestation as any of you doth, the Pope and his supremacy, and the purgatory, and all that is in the form of the oath mentioned, we declare freely against; and we do not refuse to swear because of any guilt that is upon us, but in obedience to the commands of Christ, who saith, 'Swear not at all;' and we will not come under the condemnation of an oath, for the liberty of the outward man." They were sent back to prison, and the next day were again brought before the bar and asked, "Will you confess that you wronged George Brooks, in calling him a thief, and be sorry for it, and make

him satisfaction." Miles Halhead answered, "One of us did not speak one word to him, and therefore I deny to make him satisfaction, or be sorry for it; and what was spoken was no such thing; therefore we will not lie for our liberty, nor confess we are sorry, for that which we never spoke." The following extract from the records of the court tells the rest of the story.

"July 10, 1655. Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, for provoking words against G. Brooks, Clerk, who refused to be tried by the country, fined £5 a piece, committed to Bridewell till payment, and finding sureties for their good behavior."

That they refused to be tried by the country is not true; and as to finding sureties, they were offered when they were taken prisoners, but would not be accepted; yet the mayor, John Page, had the boldness to assert they refused to give security. This conduct of the mayor placed him in an unenviable position, and he wrote a letter to General Desborough, apologizing for the severity with which he had treated the prisoners. General Desborough was not satisfied with this letter, and let some of his friends have copies of it, by which means Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse saw it, and wrote him an answer, contradicting the assertions he had made, and proving they had acted lawfully and conducted themselves like good citizens. As they were fined for using provoking words against George Brooks, it will be well enough to understand who he was. According to the testimony of Robert Vessay, John Jeffery, captain of the Nantwich frigate, and Richard Potter, captain of the Constant Warwick frigate, he was a drunkard, and always led a dissolute life. From such evidences as these it appears, that it was not without reason Halhead treated him a little roughly. He continued a prisoner many months before he was released.

On the 30th of the seventh month [July], George Whitehead, Richard Clayton and John Harwood, went to Bures

in Suffolk. Richard Clayton wrote the following queries, and put them on the church door :

“Whether by setting up such ministers as seek for their gain from their quarters, such as the Prophets disapprove, Isaiah lvi. 11; such as Prophet Jeremiah disapproves Jer. v.; and of whom mention is made also Ezek. xxxiv. and Mic. iii.; such as are called of men, masters, loving the chief places in the assemblies; such as Christ disapproved, Matthew xxiii.; such as the Apostle Peter disapproved, 2 Peter 11, and which the Apostle Paul disapproves also, Phil. iii. Or when such were set up that would not suffer another to speak that stands by, when anything is revealed, but send him to prison; whether this was not the setting up a persecuting spirit, limiting the Spirit of God, and despising prophecies, not daring to try all things? whether it was expedient to give to scoffers, scorers, drunkards, swearers and persecutors, David’s condition to sing?—and if such were set up that took tithes, though the Apostle said the priesthood was changed, and the law also, Heb. vii.; whether by the setting up of such, they did not set up such as did not labor in the Lord’s vineyard?”

A large number of people collecting around the door to read it, George Whitehead exhorted them to turn to the Lord from the vanities and wickedness they lived in. They were arrested, and taken before Halbert Pelham, a justice of the peace; but he not being able to prove they had transgressed any law, sent them to Justice Thomas Walgrave, at Smallbridge, in Suffolk. Pelham and Walgrave held a consultation, and concluded to have Clayton whipped, and the other two imprisoned.

It was about this time William Dewsbury and several other Friends were put into prison at Northampton. Thomas Andrews, a priest, met Dewsbury in the street, and told him to “give over deceiving the people, lest the plagues of God fall on him.” Dewsbury replied, “Dost thou say I deceive the people? Make it manifest wherein I deceive them.”

"Thou sayest there is no original sin," said the priest.

"Didst thou hear me say so?" returned Dewsbury. The priest was unwilling to answer this question, and went away; but Dewsbury went to the church, and after Andrews had finished his sermon, called on him to prove before the people what he accused him of, "That he had said there was no original sin." But the priest left the church without replying to the question.

Dewsbury was committed to prison, where he remained six months before they brought him to trial at Northampton. "What is thy name?" asked the judge. "It is known in the Light, and none can know it but he who hath it; but the name the world knows me by, is William Dewsbury."

"What countryman art thou?" queried the judge.

"Of the land of Canaan."

"That's far off," replied the judge.

"Nay," said Dewsbury, "for all that dwell in God are in the Holy City, New Jerusalem, which comes down from Heaven, where the soul is in rest, and enjoys the love of God in Jesus Christ, in whom the union is with the Father of Light."

"That is true," returned the judge, "but are you ashamed of your country? Is it a disparagement to be born in England?"

"Nay; I am free to declare that my natural birth was in Yorkshire, nine miles from York," said Dewsbury.

"You pretend to be extraordinary men, and have an extraordinary knowledge of God."

"We witness the work of regeneration to be an extraordinary work, wrought in us by the Spirit of God."

"But," said the judge, "the Apostles wrought with their hands in their callings."

"They had," answered Dewsbury, "callings in the world: some were fishermen; Paul was a tentmaker; but when they were called to the ministry of Christ, they left their calling, to follow Christ whither he led them by his Spirit to preach the Word: and I had a calling in the world as they



had, and in it did abide, until the Father revealed his Son to me, and called me from my vocation, to preach the eternal Word he had made known to me in the great work of regeneration."

A long conversation took place in regard to religion, and the accusations with which he was charged by those who had imprisoned him. After Robert Guy, the clerk, finished reading the indictment, the judge said, "There is an old law, if any one went from their dwellings to travel in the country without a certificate from some justice, they were to be taken up as wandering persons."

Dewsbury replied, "If there be any such law, read it to us; and if there be such a law, thou knowest in thy conscience it is contrary to the Scripture; for the Apostles and ministers of Christ went to and fro in the country, preaching the Word of eternal life; and there were added to the Church daily such as should be saved; and the number of saints and brethren was daily increased. The law that is in force in this nation doth allow all that profess faith in Jesus Christ to have free liberty to walk in the Faith which is according to Scripture."

The judge then spoke to the prisoners very moderately, but refused to set them at liberty; and they were taken back to prison, and remained within its walls twenty-nine weeks. One of the prisoners was John Hutchin, and the only charge against him, was standing peaceably in the church at Wellingborough. Another was Michael Pattison, who was arrested because he said to priest Andrews, after his sermon, "Friend, can'st thou witness this to be the Word of the Lord, that thou hast spoken here before the people?" The others were deprived of their liberty for actions of a similar character; and hundreds were treated in a like manner for refusing to pay tithes to the priests. In the year 1652, Thomas Aldam was imprisoned at York for two years and a half, for refusing to pay tithes to Thomas Rookby, the established minister of Warnsworth, and besides had thirteen beeves and two horses taken from him.

We will now turn to George Fox, whom we left at London, where he held several large meetings previous to going to Colchester, and whilst there visited, after some difficulty, James Parnel, in prison. On his way to Lynn, in company with R. Hubberthorn, they were arrested by the officers and taken before a justice of the peace about five miles distant. A house was broken open and robbed the night before, and the constables believed they were the burglars. When they appeared before the justice, he became angry because they refused to take off their hats in his presence; but George Fox told him, "he had been before the Lord Protector, and he was not offended at his hat; why then should he be offended, who was but one of his servants?" After their examination, the justice said, "he believed they were not the men who broke open the house, but he was sorry that he had no more against them." George Fox replied, "He ought not to be sorry for not having done evil against them, but rather to be glad."

On regaining their liberty they went to Lynn and many other places, holding large meetings. George Fox spoke with such power, that

"Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,  
And fools who came to scoff, remained to pray."

In this year the oath of adjuration against King Charles was introduced, and George Fox wrote to the Protector informing him that many of his Friends, who could not swear for conscience's sake, suffered much on this account. Edward Burrough also wrote to the Protector, telling him, "That the Lord's controversy was against him, because he had not been faithful in the Lord's work, but that he had taken his rest and ease upon a lofty mountain of pride and vain-glory, having set up himself to be worshipped, and exalting his own horn, without giving glory and honor to God. Moreover, that he had not performed his vows made to the Lord in the day of his distress; and that now he suffered grievous oppression, cruelty and tyranny, to be acted in his name, by

unjust imprisonments, and persecution of the Lord's people. That therefore the Lord would bring his judgments upon him, except he did repent." But Cromwell was a great favorite with the Episcopalians, and although he did not become angry at the Friends for writing him rather bold letters, yet he allowed them to be persecuted.

There were many persons who would not admit the right of Cromwell to force members of Parliament to sign articles opposed to any alteration in the government, before permitting them to take their seats in that body. Among these were Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburn, who had more than once suffered imprisonment for asserting the liberty of the people, against the arbitrary power exercised by the government. For writing several books in the year 1649, he was confined in the Tower, and after seven months' imprisonment was impeached for high treason. In his trial he pleaded his cause so effectually that the jury acquitted him; but once he was publicly whipped for a crime of which it was alleged he was guilty. When Cromwell assumed the supreme power of the government, Lilburn charged him with falseness and tyranny, and for this he was taken into custody and charged with high treason. At the bar of the court he defended his own cause with great success, and boldly answered all the charges preferred against him by the Protector. He said: "That what he had done was not only no high treason, but the government was such that no high treason could be committed against it; and that, therefore, all true Englishmen were obliged to oppose the tyranny that was exercised. That having been once in favor with Cromwell, he might have attained to great preferment, if he would have been quiet; but that he, having thought this unlawful, it was now resolved to have his life taken away, which he did not fear, because he asserted a good cause." Notwithstanding the endeavors of the judges to have him found guilty, the jury returned to the court with a verdict of Not Guilty. According to law he should have been set free, but Cromwell kept him prisoner, and had him carried from prison to prison, until

at length he was confined in the castle of Dover. Here Luke Howard, who has been mentioned before, visited him, and convinced him of the doctrine of the Society of Friends. Cromwell promised to release him if he would sign a declaration that he would never draw a sword against his government. But Lilburn was not fully convinced that to deny the use of the carnal sword was the duty of the true Christian, and did not perfectly approve that point of self-denial. He continued in the knowledge of what he had already attained, and in a short time became an example of true Christian life. In a confession which he wrote is the following passage:—  
“By Divine teaching I am now daily taught to die to sin, and led up by it to living power, to be raised up, and enabled to live in a pure measure of righteousness, and by which inward spiritual teachings, I am, I say again, led up into power in Christ, by which I particularly can, and do hereby witness, that I am already dead, or crucified to the very occasions, and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal sword fightings, and fleshly bustlings and contests; and that, therefore, confidently I now believe, I shall never hereafter be an user of a temporal sword more, nor a joiner with those that do.”

It appears by this, that Lilburn did not think the declaration would procure his release, and he was not wrong, for Cromwell died before he was released. When he regained his liberty, he continued steadfast to the doctrine of Truth, and died in London, in the year 1660.

During the latter part of this year, the royalists formed several plots against Cromwell, and in Nottinghamshire they surprised several places. The young king Charles left Cologne and went to Zealand, in order to be near his dominions; if the attempt of his friends to reinstate him should succeed. But Cromwell soon crushed all their hopes, and Charles returned again to Cologne. The government of the Protector, meeting with favor abroad, he sent a fleet to the West Indies, under the command of Admiral Penn, and another under Admiral Blake, to the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER VII.

ABOUT the beginning of this year, George Fox left London and went to Surrey, Chichester, Portsmouth and Poole. 1656. At the latter place he convinced many persons, among whom was William Bailey, a Baptist teacher, who afterwards became a celebrated minister in the Society of Friends. On arriving at Dorchester, George Fox applied for the Baptist Church to preach in, and on receiving a denial, sent word to the congregation, "that they might come to his inn if they pleased." Many of them attended with their minister, and they held a discourse about water baptism. George Fox asked them, "Whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people, as John was? And whether they had the same spirit and power that the Apostles had?" They replied, "They had not!" Then inquired George Fox, "How many powers are there? Are there any more than the power of God and the power of the devil?" They answered, "There was not any power but those two." George Fox now said, "If you have not the power of God, that the Apostles had, then you act by the power of the devil."

Leaving Dorchester, he went to Weymouth, where, inquiring after persons serious upon the subject of their own salvation, a number collected at the priest's house, he spoke to them of the divine light, and bid them turn to Jesus Christ. Nearly all present were convinced, among whom was a merry captain, who laughed at everything he saw or heard; but the next time he saw George Fox he told him, "That when he spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home he was serious enough, and had left off his laughing."

It would be impossible to mention all the places visited by George Fox, and we shall have to omit even the names of towns in which he converted many souls to the everlasting gospel. At Kingsbridge he held a large meeting, and returning in the evening to the inn, he found a number of noisy intoxicated persons, and he directed them "to the light which Christ, the heavenly man, had enlightened them withal; by which light they might see all their evil ways, words and deeds; and by the same light they might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour." This somewhat interfered with the business of the innkeeper, and hearing George Fox speak so much of the Light, said, "Come, here is light for you to go into your chamber."

George Fox, Edward Pyot, and William Salt, were taken into custody at Market-Jew, by a guard of horse, and imprisoned at Lancaster. On their way to prison they were treated shamefully both by the soldiers and the inhabitants of the several towns through which they passed. The people for many miles around crowded the streets and court, to see the Quaker prisoners tried. When they entered the court, Judge Glyn, who was then Chief Justice of England, said to the jailor, "What be these you have brought here into the court?"

"Prisoners, my lord," said he.

The judge asked why they did not take off their hats; but the prisoners remaining silent, the judge angrily said, "The court commands you to put off your hats."

George Fox replied: "Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews (the people of God) or amongst the Heathens? And if the law of England doth command any such thing, show me that law, either written or printed."

The judge, evidently offended, said, "I do not carry my law-books on my back."

"But," rejoined George Fox, "where is it printed in any statute-book, that I may read it?"

"Take him away, prevaricator; I'll ferk him;" said the judge.

They were taken out of court, and cast into prison, among thieves; but the judge soon recalled them, and asked, "Where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come, answer me; I have you fast now."

George Fox replied: "Thou mayst read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace, by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on."

The judge was surprised, and angrily ordered the jailor to take them from his sight. In the afternoon, however, they were again placed at the bar, and George Fox, observing the jury in their seats, handed them a paper written against swearing. It was placed in the judge's hands, who read it, and asked, "Whether he had written that seditious article?"

George Fox desired, "That it might be read in open court, so that all might hear it, and judge whether there was sedition in it or not; for if there was, he was willing to suffer for it."

The clerk of the assizes read it aloud, and George Fox said, "It was his paper, and he would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the Scripture; for was it not Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ and the Apostles, which all true Christians ought to obey?"

Here the judge ordered the jailor to take off their hats; but George Fox asked, "Why they were kept in prison for nine weeks, if nothing was objected against them but what concerned their hats: and as for putting off our hats, that was an honor which God would lay in the dust, though they make so much ado about it. The honor which is of men, and which men seek one of another, is a mark of unbelievers. For how can ye believe, saith Christ, who receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only? And Christ saith also: I receive not honor from men. And all true Christians should be of his mind."

The judge made a short speech, and told the prisoners he represented the Lord Protector's person, and that he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of England, and was travelling the different circuits for the sake of doing justice.

"Then," said the prisoners, "we desire justice for the false imprisonment we have suffered for the last nine weeks."

The clerk read the indictment, and Peter Creely, a justice of the peace and on the bench of the court, said to the judge, "May it please you, my Lord, this man (pointing to George Fox) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in king Charles; I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it please you, my Lord, I have a witness to swear it." He called in a bribed witness, but the judge, knowing the whole matter to be a downright lie, refused to admit his false evidence.

George Fox desired to hear the mittimus read, in which the charges against him were specified, but the court refusing to do it, one of the prisoners who had a copy of it, read it before the people, and George Fox said to the judge and justices on the bench, "Thou that sayest thou art Chief Justice of England, and you who are justices, ye know, that if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased, and have carried on the design, if I had had one, which Major Creely hath charged me with. And if I had spoken those words to him, which he hath here declared, then judge ye, whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in this case." Then speaking to Major Creely, he said, "When or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them, at our examination, so that I asked for a constable, or other officer, to keep the people civil? But, if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench? That is not the place for thee to sit in; for accusers do not sit with the judges; thou ought to come down, and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask these judges this question, whether or no Major Creely is not



guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done ? Doth he understand his place either as a soldier or a justice of the peace ? Is he not guilty of the plot and treason, and hath he not made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me ; and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it ? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of the design."

It was plain to the judge that Creely, instead of ensnaring the prisoner, had committed himself, and so this charge was passed over by the bench. But Creely rose, and said to the judge, " If it please you, my Lord, to hear me ; this man struck me, and gave me such a blow, as I never had in my life."

George Fox smilingly said, " Major Creely, art thou a justice of the peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tellest the judge here in the face of the court and country, that I, who am a prisoner, struck thee ? What, art thou not ashamed ? Prithee, where did I strike thee ? And who is thy witness for that ? Who was by ?"

Major Creely replied, " It was in the Castle-green, and Captain Badden was standing by when I was struck."

George Fox turned to Captain Badden, who was in the court, and said, " Didst thou see me give him such a blow as he saith ?" Badden merely bowed his head, and would not answer the question proposed. " Nay," said George Fox, " speak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve thy turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me : I fear not sufferings or death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning these charges."

But Badden would not testify to it, and the judge, being perfectly aware that Creely was endeavoring to falsely ensnare the prisoners, ordered the jailor to take them away. He fined them twenty marks apiece for not taking their hats off in the presence of the court, and to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. In the evening, Captain Badden and some justices visited them, and said : " They did not suppose that either

the judge or any in the court believed those charges made by Major Creely."

"Captain Badden," said George Fox, "why didst thou not witness for or against me, seeing Major Creely produced thee as a witness that I did strike him? And when I desired thee to speak either for or against me, thou wouldst not speak."

"Why," replied Badden, "when Creely and I came by you as you were walking in the Castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said, 'How do you do, Mr. Fox? Your servant, sir.' Then you said to him, 'Major Creely, take heed of hypocrisy and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master, or thou my servant? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison?' This was the great blow he meant that you gave him."

A report of this trial, and the injustice of the sentence, spread rapidly through the country, and many persons visited the prisoners, some of whom were convinced of their principles. The odious treatment which the prisoners received in this filthy prison, was shocking in the extreme; the jailor and the under-jailor, who were both thieves, and bore the marks of branding on their hands and shoulders, could not have possessed one spark of humanity in their hardened hearts, or they would have revolted at the idea of treating fellow-creatures in such a barbarous and cruel manner. They told George Fox, that spirits haunted the dungeon, and many persons had died of terror while in prison there; but he replied: "That if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing; for Christ, their priest, would sanctify the walls and the house to them; he who bruised the head of the devil; as the priest was to cleanse the plague out of the wall under the law."

At the sessions held at Bodmin, the prisoners sent a paper with an account of their manifold sufferings, which induced the justices of the court to order the prison to be cleansed, and gave them permission to buy their own food in the town market. They wrote to London, and Anne Downer, who has been mentioned before, came to Lancaster to attend

their wants, and make them comfortable during their imprisonment. An account of their case was laid before the Protector, who sent an order to the Governor of Pendennis Castle, to make some inquiry in relation to the truth of the charges preferred against them. On this occasion Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him, that they could not do greater service in spreading George Fox's principles in Cornwall, than by imprisoning him there. This was true; for whilst he and his companions were confined in prison, many persons, excited by curiosity, came to see them, and becoming interested in regard to their future welfare, joined the humble Society of which these sufferers were able ministers. A respectable physician of London, Thomas Lower, came to the dungeon, asking many questions concerning religion, and to all he received satisfactory answers from George Fox; when leaving the prison, he said, "Your words were as a flash of lightning, and I never met such wise men in my life." A member of the Society of Friends went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself as hostage, if he would permit George Fox to enjoy his liberty; but the Protector said it would not be lawful; and, turning to his council, said, "Which of you would do the same for me, if I were in the same condition?"

It was several months before George Fox and his friends were released; and the next year their inhuman jailor was committed to the same dungeon which they had occupied, for perpetrating an atrocious crime, where he unhappily died.

On the seventeenth of the ninth month [September], Cromwell convened his new Parliament, in the Painted Chamber of Westminster; and in the opening speech, he said, "That he knew not of any one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in all England." When he had finished the delivery of his address, Samuel Fisher, who was present, requested the liberty to say a few words to the Protector, the Parliament, and the people. We transcribe from his speech the following extract:

“The burden of the Word of the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, as it came unto me on the twenty-second day of last month, and as it now lieth upon me to declare it in His name, even unto thee, Oliver Cromwell, Protector of these three nations, England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also to all you who are chosen out of the several parts thereof to sit in Parliament this day, to consider such things as concern the commonwealth: and likewise to the three nations themselves, and all the people thereof, whose rulers and representatives ye are; which Word of the Lord, as ye do not deem yourselves too high, or too great, or too good, to be spoken to from the Lord; and as you will not fall under the guilt of that sin of saying to the seers, see not; and to the prophets, prophesy not, prophesy not unto us right things, prophesy smooth things, prophesy deceits. I charge you all in the name of the living God, that without interruption or opposition, whether you like it or like it not, you stand still and hear it; and when I have done, you may do with me as the Lord shall give you leave, or leave me under the power of your hands to do: no law of equity condemning any man before he be heard, especially when he speaks on so high an account as from the God of Heaven himself, though to such as are no less than God's under him here on earth.”

The Protector listened with due attention to the words Fisher spoke; but he was interrupted by some justices who were standing by, and Cromwell left the room, not wishing to hear the discussion between him and the officers. Thus prohibited from expressing all he wished to say to Cromwell, he published his address, which was very long, and contained strong reproofs of the hypocrisy of those, who, in order to show their godliness, made long prayers in public, and kept fasts, but lived in pride, pomp and luxury; persecuting those who were really pious, and committing many other acts contrary to the letter and spirit of the Bible. He warned the Protector to beware of the wicked flatterers who flocked around his throne, or his government would never be established in righteousness. In the introduction to this

speech, he said, "That before this burden came upon him, he had prayed God that he might have been excused of this message, thinking that a more unworthy one than himself could not have been selected; but he was fully resigned to whatever was required of him by the Lord."

In the tenth month [October], Humphry Smith went to Evesham, in Worcestershire, and held a large meeting, which was disturbed by the mayor, Edward Young, who said, "He would break up the Quaker meetings or his bones should lie in the dust." Smith and a number of his friends were cast into a filthy prison, and treated with less indulgence than was shown thieves or murderers. James Wall, one of the prisoners, was a freeman of the town and a shopkeeper; yet the mayor refused to permit his wife to sell her wares as usual in the market-place. As this was depriving an honest family of their means of support, she went to the mayor, who said, "I hear that your husband doth abuse you;" and she answered, "My husband did never abuse me; but as for that judgment which he now holdeth, once I could not own it; but now, seeing it is so much persecuted, makes me own it, because the way of God was always persecuted." The mayor was offended at this reply, and told her she should not have a stand in the market, even should she pay five pounds.

About a month after the imprisonment of Smith and his friends, Margaret Newby and Elizabeth Courton came to Evesham, and held a meeting at the house of Edward Pitways. In the afternoon they visited the prison; but for this, the mayor caused them to be placed in the stocks, in which situation they remained fifteen hours, and were then, during a cold night, expelled from the town.

Alexander Parker was at Radnor in Wales, preaching the doctrine of Truth, and bearing his testimony against the corruptions of the day. Ambrose Rigg and Thomas Robinson were imprisoned at Basingstoke in Hampshire, for refusing to take the oath of abjuration, which the magistrates tendered to them. After suffering many hardships, they were released,

and Robinson went to Portsmouth, where his ministry was blessed with many converts. A. Rigg visited the Isle of Wight, but soon returned to Weymouth and Melcomb-regis, where, speaking in the church against the priest, he was arrested and cast into a dirty dungeon, with nothing for a bed, but some unclean straw, and a stone for a seat. He could see the people passing in the streets through an opening at the top of his cell, and he preached to the crowd who collected day after day around the aperture, the words of repentance and salvation. In his history, Sewel says, he has been a listener to many good and effective sermons, which have been delivered to the people from the subterranean cells by the prisoners who were detained by the bigotry of the magistrates. When Rigg was released, after an imprisonment of eleven weeks, he went to see some of his friends in prison at Southampton, but the mayor, Peter Seal, not pleased with this visit, caused him to be publicly whipped at the whipping-post in the market-place, and after being severely lashed by the executioner, he was compelled to leave the town, the mayor at the same time telling him if he returned, they would brand him on the shoulder as a rogue. It is somewhat strange that the mayor died soon after this illegal and inhuman act was committed.

After visiting many places in Scotland and England, William Eaton went to Holland, and found a few English people at Amsterdam, who were connected with the Society of Friends. It will be remembered that William Ames and John Stubbs were in this country the preceding year. Ames met with good success; Dr. Galenus Abrahams, the reputed chief of the Socinian Meunists compared him to a musician that played a very melodious tune, and Stubbs to a disturber of the harmonious music. But in Holland there were some persons who carried the Quaker belief to an extreme: they published books without capital letters, under the pretence of plainness, &c. The leader of these mistaken people was Isaac Furnier, who lived as another Diogenes, using at the fire a split stick instead of a pair of tongs, and making it part

of his profession to be as blunt as possible in his conversation. One day he erased the letters, 'Dr.,' on Doctor Abrahams' door-plate, and when asked why he did it, he replied, "Because the spirit did testify so unto me." The ridiculous saying, "My spirit testifieth," which has been used as a weapon against the Society of Friends, originated with this giddy and foolish man, who soon became a papist, and died, after leading a dissolute and debauched life. William Caton did not remain long at Rotterdam, but went to Middleburg, in Zealand, accompanied by a young man, who at one of the meetings was apprehended and cast into prison for some alleged misdemeanor. Caton went to visit him, and the officers, seeing he was a companion, arrested him also, and lodged him in prison. It was ordered he should be sent to England, and he was placed in a ship of war, which arrived at London in the eleventh month (November), where he was kindly received by his friends.

It is with feelings of sorrow we contemplate the nonconformity of James Nayler's actions with those rules which were selected for their purity, as the guide for all the members of the Society of Friends. He was first reprovved by his friends in Bristol, and subsequently by George Fox, while in Exeter prison. To understand the whole affair in detail, it will be necessary to give a true relation of his life. His father was a husbandman of good repute, and during his earlier years was a soldier under Lord Fairfax; afterwards he became Quarter-Master under Major-General Lambert, but, disabled by sickness in Scotland, he returned to his home, Wakefield Parish, in 1649. JAMES NAYLER was born in the parish of Ardesly, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in the year 1616; like his father, he served in the Parliament army, and was a member of the Independents, but in 1651 he connected himself with Friends. Being a man of excellent education, he soon distinguished himself as a zealous minister in the Society of his adoption, and in the year 1654 or 1655, he went to London and preached at the meeting already established there, through the exertions of Edward

Burrough and Francis Howgill. He spoke to the congregation with all the eloquence with which he was so eminently gifted, and many esteemed him above his brethren, which gave rise to some differences in the meeting, and one woman, Martha Simmons, became so bold as to dispute with Burrough and Howgill about certain points of belief. These good men gently reproved them for the indiscretion, and in a passion, they went to J. Nayler, in order to incense him against the meeting. Confused and bewildered, he erred in judgment, estranged himself from his best friends, and his example now stands as a warning to all who wish to be exalted above their fellows, that they depend not too much on their own talents, but continue in true humility, which garment alone is the Christian's safe-guard.

Hannah Stranger, a woman who possessed many natural gifts, wrote him several very extravagant letters, styling him, "The everlasting son of Righteousness—Prince of Peace—The only begotten son of God—The fairest of ten Thousand," &c. While Nayler was in Exeter prison, Hannah Stranger, Martha Simmons and Dorcas Erbury, foolishly kissed his feet, and it was rumored at the time that he was guilty of a serious charge, but on inquiry, the accusations were found to be groundless. When released from prison, he went to Bristol, accompanied by his unwise friends, who walked uncovered before him, leading his horse, while others spread scarfs and handkerchiefs in his path, the whole company singing, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts, Hosanna in the highest, holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel."

They were arrested, examined by the magistrates, and committed to prison ; soon after, Nayler was taken to London, tried by the Parliament, and on the 17th of December, the following resolution was introduced :

"That James Nayler be set on the pillory, with his head on the pillory, in the palace-yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next, and be whipped by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the



Old Exchange, London, and there likewise be set on the pillory, his head in the pillory, for the space of two hours, between the hours of 11 and 1, on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes ; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized in the forehead, with the letter R. ; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into, and through the said city, on horseback, with his face backwards ; and there also publicly whipped the next market day after he comes thither, and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labor hard till he shall be released by Parliament ; and during that time, be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labor."

The severity of the sentence excited much sympathy in his behalf, and Parliament received many letters and petitions from persons who believed the crime to be the effect of a deranged mind, rather than a wilful intention of evil. Judgment, however, was passed in a few days, and the Speaker authorized warrants to be issued to the sheriffs of London, Middlesex, Bristol, and the governor of Bridewell, to have the sentence put into execution. It will be well enough to state, that James Nayler repented his fall, and manifested heartfelt sorrow for his mistaken zeal, which blinded him in the sight of God, and led him to commit so many rash and imprudent acts. When brought to the bar to hear his sentence, he asked the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, " What was his offence ?"

The Speaker replied, " He should know his offence by the punishment inflicted."

" I pray God he may not lay it to your charge," said the prisoner.

On the 18th of the twelfth month [December], the prisoner stood two hours with his head in the pillory, and was whipped from the palace-yard to the Old Exchange, receiv-

ing three hundred and ten stripes, which lacerated his body so severely, that many doubted he would ever recover from the wounds. The twentieth of the same month was the time appointed for boring his tongue, and branding his forehead with red hot iron, but many kindly disposed persons who knew of the sentence, sent the following petition to Parliament :

“ Your moderation and clemency in respiting the punishment of J. Nayler, in consideration of his illness of body, hath refreshed the hearts of many thousands in these cities, altogether unconcerned in practice : Wherefore, we most humbly beg your pardon, that we are constrained to appear before you in such a suit (not daring to do otherwise), that you would remit the remaining part of your sentence against the said J. Nayler, leaving him to the Lord, and to such gospel remedies as he hath sanctified ; and we are persuaded you will find such a course of love and forbearance more effectual to reclaim ; and will leave a zeal of your love and tenderness upon our spirits.

“ And we shall ever pray, &c.”

This petition was presented at the bar of the House by a committee of one hundred persons on behalf of its numerous signers ; and, after being read to Parliament, a long debate followed, by the tone of which the committee concluded their request would not be granted. Their next resource was an address to the Lord Protector ; but the ministers of the established church held such an influence over his mind, that he had not the moral courage to annul the remaining part of the sentence without their consent. Parliament ordered five of these preachers, namely, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith and Reynolds, to consult with the prisoner concerning the charges for which he was to suffer punishment. But as they would not permit any disinterested person to be in the room during the consultation, J. Nayler told them, “ That he saw it was their intent to make him suffer, though innocent, as an evil-doer, and therefore had denied any to be present that might be indifferent judges between them and him ;

and that therefore he should not say anything, unless what passed was written down, and a copy thereof given him to keep, or left with the jailor, signed by them."

They consented to this arrangement, and asked him, "If he believed there was a Jesus Christ?"

"I believe there is," said Nayler, "and that Jesus hath taken up his dwelling in my heart and spirit; and for the testimony of him, I now suffer."

One of the ministers observed, "I believe in a Jesus that was never in any man's heart." J. Nayler replied, "I do not know such a Christ; for the Christ I witness fills heaven and earth, and dwelleth in the hearts of all believers."

They demanded, "Why he permitted those women to kneel before him in prison; and desired one instance of Scripture wherein such a practice is held forth."

The prisoner replied, "What think you of the Shunamite falling down at the feet of Elisha, and bowing before him? Also of other instances of Scripture, as that of Abigail to David, and that of Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel?"

After holding a long debate on questions of belief, in which the reader would be fully convinced that Nayler did not possess a sane mind, the ministers departed; and on the twenty-seventh of the month, he was placed in the pillory at the old Exchange, where his tongue was bored and his forehead branded, before thousands of spectators, who deeply sympathized with the sufferer, and stood uncovered before him; no one offering the least disrespect or violence. From thence he was carried to Bristol, and whipped through the principal streets, and then carried to Bridewell prison, London, where he was committed for the time specified in the sentence. The Society of Friends did not acknowledge the actions or sayings of J. Nayler to be part of their faith; and the majority of those persons who interested themselves to procure his acquittal were members of other denominations. The slight disaffection he caused in the meeting at London, was soon healed; and friendship and good feeling was again restored among the members. During his confinement in

Bridewell he truly repented, and wrote several able papers, giving an account of his fall and recantation, which were published in his writings. He also wrote letters to Parliament, the magistrates, ministers, lawyers and the people, acknowledging his offence and warning others against the power of Satan, that is always battling against the Spirit of God, lest they, like him, should leave the faith, and stray from the road of Salvation. To his friends he sent the following :

“ My brethren, my heart is broken this day, for the offence I have occasioned to God’s truth and people, and especially to you, who in dear love followed me, seeking me in faithfulness to God, which I rejected, being bound, wherein I could not come forth, till God’s hand brought me, to whose love I now confess. And I beseech you, forgive wherein I refused your love, and since I see it, God knows my sorrow for it, that ever I should offend Him or reject his council. Unless the Lord himself keep you from me, I beseech you let nothing else hinder your coming to me, that I may have your help in the Lord ; in the mercies of Christ Jesus, this I beg of you, as if it was your own case, let me not be forgotten of you. By the power of God, and in the spirit of Christ Jesus, I am willing to confess the offence, that God’s love may arise in all hearts, as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what stands in the way ; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover : God is my witness herein.”

James Nayler suffered great humiliation of mind, and as God forgives the transgressions of the penitent, his friends received him joyfully into communion with the society, and after obtaining his liberty, became a Christian and patiently submitted to the reproach of his former crimes.

When king Charles the Second ascended the throne, a person named Richard Blome published a book, entitled the “*Fanatic History*,” which was said to have been written with the approbation of the leading ministers of the established Church, and dedicated by the author to the king. This work was an attack on Friends, and teemed with falsehoods and misrepresentations of every kind, including a garbled account of the

conduct of James Nayler, who answered it and proved the charges untrue ; but we will give an extract in his own language :

“ I say thou hast need to ask pardon of king Charles, for the presumption of dedicating such a book to him, being made up of false accusations, gathered up out of books formerly written against us, which have been disproved by answers several times over ; and to these thou hast added some new accusations, as false as the old, and spied out of the failings of some few, who have mourned before God, that ever they should sin, and give occasion to the enemy of God so to blaspheme. And many things which were done and spoken by others, who are not of us, nor ever were ; of this is thy book made up, as any may see who read it, and our several answers to the charges therein, many of them of several years’ standing, against these false accusations, which have most of them been printed over and over, and presented to the former powers that have risen, and as often answered. Now, discretion will say, that, to make another man the father of such a work, to which he is a stranger (but especially a king), is presumption indeed, rashness and folly, and needs a pardon.”

To the king he says ; “ the king that faithfully judges the poor, his throne shall be established for ever. But, if a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked,” Prov. xxix. 12, 14. And to the author of this work he said ; “ Lay not wait, O wicked man, against the dwelling of the righteous, spoil not his resting-place. For a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again ; but the wicked shall fall into mischief,” Prov. xxiv. 15, 16.

John Endicot, Governor of Boston, and Richard Bellingham wrote two letters in defence of the persecution in New England, which were answered by James Nayler on his recovery, and he also wrote many letters which have been published in the collection of his works, given to the public a few years after his death. In the latter end of 1660, in the forty-fourth year of his age, he died in Huntingdonshire, and

was buried in Thomas Parnel's burying-ground at Kings Rippon. About two hours before his death, he spoke these words in the presence of several witnesses.

"There is a spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end ; its hope is to outlive all wrath and contentions, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations ; as it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other ; if it be betrayed it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God ; its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind ; in God alone it can rejoice, though none else regards it, or can pity it ; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression ; it never rejoiceth but through sufferings ; for with the world's joy it is murdered ; I found it alone, being forsaken ; I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."

This was James Nayler's last testimony and dying words ; and thus he gave proof, that though he had erred, yet with confidence in the power of God, he hoped to obtain a happy resurrection.

At Bristol George Fox held a large meeting in an orchard, and the Baptist preacher, Paul Gwyn, who was on the ground, said, "Ye wise men of Bristol, I wonder that ye will stand and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good."

George Fox asked the people, "Whether they ever heard him speak before, or ever saw him before ? And he bade them take notice what kind of man this Gwyn was, who so impudently said, that he spoke and affirmed that which he could not make good ; and yet neither Gwyn nor they ever heard him or saw him before ; and that therefore it was a lying, envious, and malicious spirit that spoke in him."

Charging Gwyn to be silent, he preached several hours, without being disturbed. After passing through Wiltshire, Marlborough, and other places, he returned to London; and when near Hyde Park, he met the Protector in his carriage, and spoke to him about the sufferings of his friends in the nation, proving how contrary this persecution was to the example of Christ and his Apostles. On parting, at the gate of James' Park, Cromwell desired him to come to the palace, which invitation was accepted by George Fox and Edward Pyot, who went to Whitehall, and spoke about the severe treatment many suffered on account of their religious belief, and directed him to the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

"This is a natural light," replied the Protector.

"Nay," said George Fox, "it is a divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the spiritual and heavenly man."

After some light and foolish conversation on the part of Cromwell, he became serious; and when he left them, he told his wife, "That he never parted so from the Quakers before."

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE Parliament which Cromwell convened during the beginning of this year, passed a law, rejecting Charles 1657. Stuart's title of king, and granting subsidies to the Protector, by which means the crown was placed in his power; and although he feigned a dislike to become king, yet it was believed he was not altogether averse to the movement. In a conversation with General Fleetwood and Colonel Desborough, he said, the title of monarch was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore he wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. They indirectly expressed that this language displeased them; and told him, that those who wished him to be crowned were not enemies to Charles Stuart, and his acceptance of the crown would most certainly cause his ruin. It is said, Major-General Lambert also gave Cromwell to understand, that if he accepted the crown, he would not pledge the army to support him as king. Of course Cromwell was forced to refuse the title of king, and the Parliament, which consisted of two houses, confirmed him in that of Protector, granting him power to name a successor. Among the new Parliament, it was generally believed there were over one hundred members opposed to Cromwell; and the authority of the upper house being called in question, in consequence of the low rank of its members, the Protector dissolved the legislature, and made Major-General Lambert surrender his commission. Edward Burrough frequently corresponded with Cromwell; and hearing he wished to be king, wrote a kind letter, warning him against the trouble consequent upon the impropriety



and inconsistency of such an action, from which we extract the following paragraph :

“ O, that thy heart was opened to see His hands, that thou might live unto him and die in peace. And beware lest hardness of heart possess thee, if thou slight his love, and so be shut up in darkness, and given to the desires of thine enemies, and left to the council of treacherous men, who may seek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better cast thee down, destroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy posterity miserable. But now, O consider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou hast not answered the Lord, but been wanting to him for all this, and hast chosen thy own way and glory, rather than His, and not fulfilled his council in raising thee ; for the bonds of cruelty are not loosed by thee, and the oppressed are not altogether set free ; neither is oppression taken from the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure consciences altogether allowed. But these dominions are filled with cruel oppressions, and the poor groan everywhere under the heavy hand of injustice ; the needy are trodden under foot, and the oppressed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint under their burdens, for true justice and judgment. The proud exalt themselves against the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious continue the meek of the earth. The horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord’s heritage, and those who have departed from iniquity are become a prey to oppressors ; and the cruel-hearted deal cruelly with the innocent of these nations. Consider, friend, and be awakened to true judgment ; let the Lord search thy heart, and lay these things to mind, that thou mayest be an instrument to remove every burden, and mayest at last fulfil the will of God. O, be awakened, be awakened, and seek the Lord’s glory, and not thine own, lest thou perish before the Lord and men. Nay, if men would give thee honor, high titles and princely thrones, take it not : for that which would exalt and honor thee in the world, would betray thee to the world, and cast thee down in the sight of the world. And this is God’s word to thee !

What! shall the whole nation be perjured men, and thou the cause of it? And wilt thou transgress by building again that which thou hast destroyed? Give heed unto my word and understand my speech. Be not exalted by men, lest men betray thee. His love, through my heart, breathes unto thee; he would thy happiness, if thou wilfully condemn it not, by exalting thyself, and seeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart against the cry of the poor."

The oppressions spoken of by Burrough in this letter, were in regard to the tithes which the priests extorted from Friends, rendering many of them extremely poor. The enormity of this oppression was not unknown to Cromwell, for previous to a battle near Dunbar, in Scotland, he said in his prayer to God, "That if the Lord would be pleased to deliver him at that time, he would take off the great oppression of tithes;" a promise, however, which he never fulfilled. Cromwell received the letter in the third month, and denied that he was guilty of any persecutions upon the Society of Friends. This denial caused E. Burrough to write again, in which he told him, "To consider what the cause is, that what thou desirest not to be done, is yet done. Is it not that thou mayest please men? Making it appear that thou art more willing to do the false teachers of this nation and wicked men a pleasure, than own to the people of God in relieving them, and easing them of their cruel burdens and oppressions, laid upon them by august men. For a word of thy mouth, or a show of thy countenance in dislike of these cruel and unjust persecutions, would bind the hands of many bloodthirsty men.

"The kingdom of Christ is setting up by his own power, and all must bow and become subject thereunto; he needeth none of thy policy, nor the strength of thy arm to advance it; yet would he have thee not to prove thyself an open enemy thereof, by doing, or suffering to be done, cruelty and injustice against them whom the Lord is redeeming out of this world into subjection to that kingdom; lest thou be such a

one as will not enter thyself, or suffer others to enter, and so destruction come upon thee. Wherefore, arise as out of sleep, and slumber not in this world's glory and honor; be not overcome by the pleasures of this world, nor the flattering titles of men! wink not at the cruelty and oppression acted by some, who shelter under thee, and make thy name a cloak for mischief against the upright."

He wrote again and stated, "That the good name, Protector, by the great oppression acted under it, was abused and subverted; and that instead of protection by it, great injustice was acted under it, and covered with it. Besides, that several justices of the peace, and other officers in trust, under him, when they acknowledged the people called Quakers, had been cast out of their places; though they had not denied to serve him and the Commonwealth, neither had unfaithfulness been proved against them."

He also told him, "That he had many enemies, some of which endeavored to destroy him, by any means, without regarding any danger that might be in the attempt. And that he going on in oppressing through tyranny, or suffering it, perhaps the Lord might raise up the wicked to be a plague to wickedness, and suffer the oppressors to overthrow oppressions. How can we mention thee in our prayers to God, except it be to be delivered from thee, who are daily unjustly sufferers by thee, or because of thee? Or how can we be Friends in that government under which we daily suffer such hard and cruel things, as the loss of our liberty and estates, and are in danger of life also?"

About the beginning of this year, Christopher Birkhead went to Rochelle, in France, and was examined before the bishop, and imprisoned for writing and speaking against the Pope and his religion. In February, regaining his liberty, he journeyed to Middleburgh, in Zealand, and entered the English church in that town, where the minister, William Spanke, was preaching. When he had finished, Birkhead rose and addressed the congregation, but he was apprehended by order of the magistrates, and examined in the presence

of several public preachers, who asked him, "what his name was."

"My name according to the flesh is Christopher Birkhead."

"Have you no other name?" asked one of the ministers.

"Yes, and it is written in the Lamb's Book of Life."

"What is that name?"

"None knows it, but he that hath it," replied Birkhead.

Robert Sparke desired to know, "whether his name in the Book of the Lamb was not Jesus?"

"No!" said Birkhead, "that is the name of the Lamb."

Many other foolish questions were asked, but the cunning magistrates could not ensnare him on that point. Birkhead, however, was committed to the house of correction, but was soon released through the intercession of Heer Newport, ambassador of the States General in England.

In this year George Baily went to France, and died in prison for having zealously testified against Popery and the worship of images.

William Ames and Humble Thatcher went to Amsterdam, but the magistrates fearing they would cause a riot, ordered them to depart from the town within twenty-four hours; but knowing they were innocent of any unlawful infringement of the laws, they would not obey the command, and the magistrates placed them in custody until the police led them one night through the gates of the city. The next day William Ames returned, and passing through the market-place one of the magistrates said; "Lo! there's the Quaker; if we had a mind to make a martyr here is an opportunity." It was during this visit of William Ames, that he convinced the parents of that able historian of Friends, William Sewel, Jacob Williamson Sewel, surgeon at Amsterdam, and his wife Judith Zinspenning, both members of the Flemish Baptist Church, who were among the first members of the Society of Friends in Amsterdam. William Caton also came to Amsterdam, but before leaving England he held a large meeting in Sussex on the day called Shrove-

Tuesday, where the people behaved very rude and disrespectful, disturbing the meeting by beating drums and by other improper conduct. Caton spoke to them with much power, and they silently withdrew in confusion and shame. When he arrived in Holland, he found several persons, whose mistaken zeal blinded them in the true belief, causing disunion in the meetings and otherwise disturbing that kind and peaceful brotherhood, which has ever been one of the chief characteristics of the Society. Many evil and malicious reports concerning the Quakers were spread over the country; and to deny these assertions, W. Caton wrote several books which were printed in Amsterdam and circulated among the people. In Zealand he wrote a work entitled, "The Moderate Inquirer Resolved," which was published in Latin and English, and soon after translated into Dutch. Meeting with considerable opposition, he returned to London, and found the Society in that city in a prosperous condition, daily adding members to its communion.

George Fox left London, and travelled through Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Wales. In the latter place he was accompanied by Thomas Holmes, the first Friend preacher in Wales, and by John-ap-John, who three years before had been sent to the north by a priest to make inquiry into the belief of Friends. At Brecknock they held a large meeting in the church-yard; and at Lemster also, where priest Tombs made some opposition, by saying; "that the Light, George Fox spoke of, was but a natural light." But George Fox asserted the contrary, and said; "That he had spoken of no other light than John bore witness to, namely: The Word which was in the beginning with God, and which word was God; and that was the true light which enlightened every man that cometh into the world." From this place he went to Tenby, and the first day of the week held a meeting at the house of a justice of the peace, which was attended by the mayor, his wife, and many of the principal inhabitants of the city. John-ap-John held a meeting in the church-yard, and was arrested and imprisoned by order of the governor,

who, on the next morning, sent an officer to bring George Fox to the castle. When he was in the presence of the governor, he asked, "Why he had cast his friend into prison?"

"For standing with his hat on in the church," returned the governor.

"Why," said George Fox, "had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? And if the brim of the hat, which was but to defend from the weather, had been cut off, then my friend would have had but one cap."

"These are frivolous things," replied the governor.

"Why then," asked George Fox, "dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?"

He was then asked, "Whether he owned election and reprobation?"

"Yes," said he, "and thou art in the reprobation."

This incensed the governor so much, that he told George Fox he would send him to prison until he proved it.

"I'll prove that quickly, if thou wilt confess the truth;" and he asked him, "Whether wrath, fury, rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation? For he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit: and Christ and the Apostles never persecuted or imprisoned any."

This statement of the truth had such an effect upon the governor, that he admitted he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him; and George Fox told him Esau the first birth was up in him, and not Jacob the second birth. He was so clearly convinced, that he invited George Fox to dinner, and set his friend free.

After visiting many places in the north, he went to Scotland, and met with much rude opposition. An assembly was called, for drawing up articles, or curses, to be read in the different churches, of which the following was the first: "Cursed is he that saith every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation. And let all the people say Amen." An Independent pastor, preaching one day against the Friends and the Light, calling the Light natural,

cursed it, and fell to all appearances dead in the pulpit. Applying the necessary means for restoration, he slowly recovered, but never regained either his sense or bodily health. In the tenth month [October], George Fox went to Edinburgh, where he was summoned to appear before the Council, who ordered him to leave Scotland within seven days. After travelling over the northern part of the kingdom, he returned to Leith, where he was informed the Council had granted warrants for his arrest, the seven days having expired; but he heeded them not, and went to Edinburgh again, and received a challenge to meet the Baptist ministers, for the purpose of discussing the subject of religion. The place selected was Dunbar; but the Baptist failed to appear, and George Fox thought it was a scheme to arrest him, in order to make him leave Scotland. On leaving Dunbar, he went to Newcastle, England, highly pleased with his success amongst the Scots.

During the summer of this year, a young man named George Robinson embarked in a ship bound to Leghorn, Italy, on his way to Jerusalem. On arriving safely at Leghorn, he went in a French ship to St. John d'Aca, formerly called Ptolemais, bordering on the Mediterranean, near Palestine, and after remaining eight days in a French merchant's house, he sailed in a vessel bound to Japha or Joppe. The friars at Jerusalem having heard that a Quaker was coming to their holy city, gave orders to arrest him, which was done; but an old Turk of some repute took him to his house, and entertained him courteously. In a few days the friars sent one of their number to propound the following questions to Robinson:

1st. Whether he would promise, when he came to Jerusalem, that he would visit the holy places as other pilgrims did?

2d. That he would pay as much money as pilgrims generally do.

3d. That he would dress in the usual habit of pilgrims.

4th. That he must speak nothing against the Turks' laws.

5th. And when he came to Jerusalem, not to speak anything about religion.

Not willing to make these promises, the friar, an Irishman, with a guard of horse and foot, took him back to Japha, and placed him on board a vessel bound to St. John d' Aca, where a French merchant, named Surrubi, invited him to his residence, and kindly entertained him for several weeks. By the aid of this merchant, Robinson found means to return by sea to Jopha; but on his road from this place to Jerusalem, three Turks robbed him of all his goods, and when he was passing through Ramoth, two Mahometans took him to their mosque, and the priests asked him, "Whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion?" He said, "He could not turn unto them for all the world." He was ordered to be prepared for death; and an executioner was about to perform the deed, when an old Turk, who seemed to be of a superior class, commanded his servant to conduct Robinson to his dwelling. In a few days a guard of horsemen, hired by the friars, came to carry him to Gaza, informing the Turk it was the Bashaw's orders to bring him there. The Bashaw was informed of the cruel designs of the friars; and when Robinson was brought before him, he made the friars not only pay a heavy fine for their conduct, but convey the prisoner safely to Jerusalem. Then he was taken to Jerusalem by his enemies; and whilst in a convent, one of them said, "There was now an evident sign that he was a good Christian, for he had come through persecution and suffering; and those things which had been spoken to his prejudice were manifest to be untrue." Robinson told the friar, "It was he and his brethren that had been the cause of his sufferings, and withstood his coming to Jerusalem." The other replied, "That the Irish friar had misinformed them by his writing, which had caused them to do what they had done; and therefore they desired he would now pass by those things, seeing he escaped in such a miraculous manner; for it was the Lord's work, thus to carry him through, and he might praise God he was preserved."



The next morning the friars wished him to visit their church, the Holy Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and the other holy places; but he told them, "At present he had no business to visit them; and unlike them, he would not go to worship them."

One said: "How can you be a servant of God, and not go to visit the places where the holy men of God dwelt?"

He replied: "That they, under pretence of doing service to God, in visiting the places where holy men dwelt, did oppose that way, and resist that life, which the holy men of God lived and walked in."

"What do you preach unto us for?" asked the friars.

He answered: "That he would have them turn from those evil practices they lived in, else the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled against them."

They did not like his discourse; and one said, "If he would not go and visit the aforesaid places, yet he must give twenty-five dollars, as it was usual for the visitors to give that sum." He informed them he would not submit to such unreasonable terms; and they took him before an officer of the place, who asked him, "What was the ground of his coming to Jerusalem?" He answered, "That it was by the command of the Lord God of Heaven and Earth that he came hither; and that the great and tender love of God was made manifest in visiting them; his compassionate mercies being such, that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering." The Turks ordered the friars to take him, free of charge, to Ramla: and in the book of travels which he afterwards published, we find, after being preserved through many trials, he safely arrived in England.

As previously stated, George Fox arrived at New Castle, and, in company with Anthony Pearson, visited some of the aldermen of the city; among these was one named Ledger, who had said, "The Quakers would not come into any great towns, but live in the fields like butterflies." George Fox desired to hold a meeting amongst them, but they refused to grant him the request; and he then asked Ledger, "Whether they

had not called his friends, butterflies, and said they would not come into any large towns? But now we are come unto your town, you will not come to us. Who are the butterflies now?" Ledger then spoke of the Sabbath day; for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas the day the professed Christians now meet on and call their Sabbath, is the first day of the week." As he could not hold a general conversation among the inhabitants, he collected his friends, and held a little meeting at the gate-side. Travelling through Northumberland and Bishopric, he came to Durham, where he met a person who was about to commence a college in that place, for the purpose of educating young men for the ministry. In conversation with this man, he told him, "That to teach men Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and the seven arts, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ; for the languages began in Babel; and to the Greeks that spoke Greek as their mother tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews that spoke Hebrew as their mother tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. And as for the Romans, who spoke Latin, they persecuted the Christians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek and Latin a-top of Christ when he crucified him. Thus the languages which began at Babel, were set above Christ, the Word; and John, the Divine, who preached the Word, that was in the beginning, said, 'that the beast and the whore had power over tongues and languages, and they were as waters, and in the mystery, Babylon;' for they began at Babel; and the persecutors of Christ set them over him when he was crucified by them. Dost thou think," he continued, "to make ministers of Christ by these natural confused languages, which sprang from Babel—are admired in Babylon—and set before Christ, the Life, by a persecutor?" He also proved, "That Christ made his own ministers—gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the God of the harvest to send forth laborers; that Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant, as to school learning, preached Christ the Word, which was in the beginning before Babel was; and

that Paul also was made an Apostle, not of man, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is his gospel as it was in that day."

The professor became convinced of the foolishness of educating persons for the ministry, and left Durham for London, without starting his intended school.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE first yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in England was held at the residence of John Crook, in 1658. Bedfordshire; it lasted three days, and was fully attended by members from all parts of the United Kingdom. When the meeting dispersed, George Fox went to London, and was challenged to discuss the truth of the religion of the Friends by a Jesuit who was connected with the diplomatic corps of the Ambassador of Spain. The Jesuit first said he would meet twelve of their wisest men; but he gradually lowered the number down to three; and George Fox, Edward Burrough and Nicholas Bond, went to the Earl of Newport's house, the place of meeting, for the purpose of holding the discussion. They began by asking the Jesuit, "Whether the Church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true Church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit that those believers were in?"

"The Church of Rome," answered the Jesuit, "is now in the virginity and purity of the primitive Church."

"Have you the Holy Ghost poured out upon you as the Apostles had?" asked George Fox.

"No," replied the Jesuit.

Then said George Fox, "If ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and spirit that the Apostles had, then ye are degenerated from the power and spirit which the primitive Church was in. What Scripture have you for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men, and for their praying by beads and to images, and for making crosses, for forbidding of meats and

marriages, and for putting people to death for religion? If ye are in the practice of the primitive Church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by Scripture, whether they practised such things."

It was mutually agreed between the parties, that each should prove by Scripture what they said, and the Jesuit argued there was a written and an unwritten word. George Fox asked him, "What he called the unwritten word?"

"The written word is the Scriptures," replied the Jesuit, "and the unwritten word is that which the Apostles spoke by word of mouth, which are all those traditions which we practise."

"Prove it by Scripture," said the Friends. The Jesuit alleged the words of the apostle, 2 Thess. xi. 5; that is, I told you of nunneries and monasteries, of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads and to images, &c. He then affirmed that the unwritten words of the Apostles which were told them had been continued by tradition up to the present time.

"Go," replied George Fox, "read thy Scripture again, that thee may see how thou hast perverted the apostle's words, since that which the apostle said there, he had told them before, was not an unwritten word, but was written down; namely, That the man of sin, the son of perdition, should be revealed before that great and terrible day of Christ, which he was writing of, should come. And, therefore, this was not telling them any of those things, which the Church of Rome practised. Besides, the apostle in the third chapter of the said epistle, told the Church of some disorderly persons he heard were amongst them, busybodies, who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was amongst them, that if any would not work, neither should he eat; which now he commanded them again in the written words of the epistle, 2 Thess. iii."

The Jesuit, finding no other Scriptural proof for the traditions of the Church of Rome, left that argument and spoke

of the sacrament of the altar, to prove the reality of which he quoted the words of Christ, "This is my body," and also the words of the apostle to the Corinthians, concluding that after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and whoever received it, received Christ.

George Fox told him, "That the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken the bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, that they were reprobates if Christ was not with them. But if the bread they ate was Christ, he must of necessity have been in them. Besides, if the bread and wine which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ's body, how then hath Christ a body in Heaven? And both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread and drink the wine in remembrance of Christ, and to show forth his death till he came; which plainly proved, that the bread and wine which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he was come, and was then present; and it would have been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of him, if he was with them; as he must have been, if that bread and wine, which they ate and drank, had been his real body. And as to the words of Christ, 'This is my body,' why Christ called himself a vine and a door, and in Scripture he is called a rock. Is Christ, therefore, an outward rock, door or vine?"

"O," said the Jesuit, "these words are to be interpreted."

"So," replied George Fox, "are those words of Christ, 'This is my body.'"

This silenced the Jesuit, and George Fox made this proposal: "That seeing he said the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Christ, and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ; a meeting might be appointed between some such papists as the Pope and his Cardinals should appoint, and some of those called Quakers. And then let a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they will; and then let the consecrated

and unconsecrated bread and wine be set in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it; and let trial then be made, whether the consecrated bread and wine will not lose its goodness, the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour just as soon as that which was unconsecrated; for by this means the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savor and goodness, this may be the means of drawing many to your church. But if they change, decay, or lose their goodness, then ought you to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it, as hath been done, especially in Queen Mary's reign."

"Take a piece of new cloth," replied the Jesuit, "and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and one garment shall wear away as well as the other."

"Then," said George Fox, "by this the company may all be satisfied, that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Dost thou not say, that the consecrated bread and wine, which you have told the people was immortal and divine, and the real body and blood of Christ, will wear away or decay as well as the other? Then I must tell thee, Christ remains the same to day as yesterday, and never decays; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life."

After some conversation relative to the persecution of the Church of Rome, the discussion closed, and all present saw the error of the Jesuit, and admired the simplicity of George Fox. The Society of Friends, both in England and Ireland, were suffering great injustice from many persons in power, and George Fox went to see Cromwell about alleviating them, as well as to warn him of the danger of declaring himself king. He also wrote several letters on the subject, the substance of which is as follows:

"O Protector—Who hast tasted of the power of God, which many generations before thee have not so much since

the days of apostasy from the Apostles, take heed that thou lose not thy power; but keep kingship off thy head, which the world would give to thee, and earthly crowns under thy feet, lest with that thou coverest thyself, and so lose the power of God. When the children of Israel went from that of God in them, they would have kings as other nations had, as transgressors had; and so God gave them one! And what did they do then? And when they would have taken Christ, and made him a king, he hid himself from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, he who was the King of the Jews inward. O Oliver, take heed of undoing thyself, by running into things that will fade, the things of this world that will change. Be subject and obedient to the Lord God."

He also wrote a letter to Cromwell's beloved daughter, Lady Claypole, who was on a bed of sickness, and much troubled about her eternal salvation. He told her to be quiet and still, only look to God for the blessing she might expect, and to his power for the work of salvation. He bid her keep in the fear of the Lord, for the same light which let her see sin and transgression, will also show the covenant of God, that blots out sin and transgression, and brings victory and dominion over it. The letter was read to her and received kindly, but she did not live many days after; thus Cromwell met with continual sorrow and trouble from almost every source. A day of solemn fast and humiliation having been proclaimed by the Protector, on account of the persecution of the Protestants in Lucerne valley, George Fox wrote a letter to the Governors of the nation, showing them what kind of a fast God requires and accepts. It is too long for this work, but the following paragraphs contain the pith of this admirable letter.

"Now, whereas ye take into your consideration the said persecution, tyranny, and cruelty exercised upon them, whom ye call your Protestant brethren, and do contribute and administer to their wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and see it good to administer to the necessities of others,



and to do good to all; and we who are sufferers by a law derived from the Pope, are willing to join, and to contribute with you, to their outward necessities. For the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; who is good to all, and gracious to all, and willing that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But, in the meantime, while ye are doing this, and taking of others, cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eyes upon yourselves, and see what ye are doing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus, in all your consciences, I speak, which cannot lie, nor cannot err, nor cannot bear false witness; but doth bear witness for God, and cries for equity and justice and righteousness to be executed. See what ye are doing who profess the Scriptures, which were given forth by the Saints in light, who dwelt in the light, and the life of them. For them who now witness the same light, the same life, and the same power, which gave forth the Scriptures, which ye in words profess, ye persecute and drive them from your synagogues, markets, and public places. Now let that of God in your consciences, which is just and righteous, examine and try, whether ye are an example or precedent, to exercise the persecution, which many in the nation suffer, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the way of truth they walk in, heresy, yet therein do they exercise a conscience void of offence towards God and man, not wronging any man, neither giving any just cause of offence; only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare as they are moved by the Holy Ghost, and standing for the testimony of a good conscience, speaking the truth in Christ, their consciences bearing them witness that they lie not; for this do they suffer under you, who, in a word, possess the same thing for which they suffer. Ye profess Jesus Christ, who is the light of the world, that enlightens every one that cometh into the world, and yet persecute them that bear witness, and give testimony to this light. Ye profess that the Word is become flesh, and yet persecute them that witness

it so. Ye profess, that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is an Antichrist, and yet persecute them that do confess him come in the flesh, and call them deceivers. Ye profess that the kingdom of Christ is come, and yet persecute them that witness it has come. Ye profess Christ Jesus, the resurrection and the life, and yet persecute them that witness him to be so. If ye say, 'How shall we know that these people who say they witness these things do so or not?' I answer, 'Turn your minds to the light which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye shall have the light of life, and then ye will know, and see what ye have done, who have persecuted the Lord of Glory (in his people), in whom is life, and the life, the light of men. To no other touchstone shall we turn you, but into your own consciences, and there shall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear testimony to, according to the Holy Scriptures. And when the books of consciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall ye witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true, though now you may stop your ears, and harden your hearts, while it is called to-day. But then ye shall know what ye have done, and whom ye have transgressed against, and then ye will see that no persecutors in any age or generation, that ever went before you, did ever transgress against that Light and measure of God made manifest, in such a manner as ye have done. Therefore, to the eternal light of Jesus Christ, the searcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and see what ye are doing, lest ye overturn your foundation whereon ye stand, while ye are professing the Scriptures, and persecuting the life, light, and power, which they were in who gave them forth. For the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, is now striking at the feet of the image, the profession which is set up, and stands in the will of man. Now is that made manifest into which all must answer and appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the thing done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it

be good or bad. Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men ; but we are made manifest unto God, and shall be made manifest in all your consciences, which ye shall witness."

These fasts were proclaimed several times, and as they were attended generally with some cruelty to Friends, George Fox said they were like Jezebel's, and continued to write against them. He also wrote to Parliament, about the hypocrisy of its members, who professed to be religious, and yet committed many offences against the innocent and harmless.

"O, friends," said he, "do not cloak and cover yourselves ; there is a God that knoweth your hearts and he will uncover them. He seeth your way. Wo be to him that covereth, but not with my spirit, saith the Lord. Do ye contrary to the law, and there put it from you ! Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was spoken against such ? My Saviour said ; 'I was sick, and ye visited me not ; I was hungry, and ye fed me not ; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in ; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.' But they said, 'When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee ?' 'Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me !' Friends, ye prison them that be in the life and power of truth, and yet profess to be the ministers of Christ ; but if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton ; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter ; ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you."

One day a woman entered Parliament with a pitcher in her hands, which she broke on the floor, at the same time telling them, so should they be broken to pieces, which prediction was verified shortly after. Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson travelled over England, for the purpose of visiting the different jails, in order to find out the sufferings of those who were imprisoned for the sake of their religious belief ; and after collecting all the information they laid the subject before the Protector ; but he being unwilling to grant

their release, Thomas Aldam tore his cap to pieces, and said to him, "so shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house."

Edward Burrough wrote several letters to Cromwell, of which the following is the most important. It was delivered to the Protector in the sixth month [June] at Hampton Court.

"Friend! know that there is a God that doth whatsoever he will; all power is in his hand, and he bringeth to pass the counsel of his own heart, and he rules the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and setteth up; he killeth and maketh alive; and he changes times and seasons and governments, and brings to naught the councils of men: for all power in earth and in heaven is in him, and all his doings are right, and his ways are equal; and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the potter, he can honor and exalt as he pleases, and he can mar, and break to pieces, and dishonor whensoever he will; wherefore be humble and low in heart before him, for he is the highest power that subdueth all things under his feet. If he wound, who can heal? And if he kill, there is none can make alive; and know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doeth this, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and he it is who can break thee down and build thee up, who can wound thee and restore thee, and bring to destruction, and say unto thee return; and to know him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace, &c.

"Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou shalt have thy reward; and seek his honor, and he will honor thee; and let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, and power, and presence in thee, to quench all that is contrary, and thou wilt be blessed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continuest in thy oppression, the Lord will suddenly smite thee."

Four weeks after the receipt of this letter, the prediction in it was verified, for he died with a disease of the heart, at Hampton Court. Previous to his death, George Fox wrote to him, "That it was not improbable, on account of his

wickedness, God might raise the Royalists against him, to be instruments in executing his wrath, as once he himself had been an instrument to their overthrow." George Fox also went to Hampton Court, to speak to him in relation to the sufferings of his friends; but the Protector was sick, and Dr. Harvey told him it would not be prudent to let him enter the room. The next day he was seized with a violent fever, and although one of his chaplains assured him of his recovery, yet day by day he became worse, till he died. During his illness, E. Burrough wrote a letter to his wife and children, in which we find the following passage :

" And though these innocent lambs of Christ suffer thus under this present power, yet are they not enemies to you, but are friends to your persons and families, and pity you, and love you, and desire well for you in the Lord, that you may repent, and be healed, and even that your hearts may be opened to receive refreshments to your souls, and that you may be established in righteousness and truth over all your enemies, and may not be confounded, nor your posterity brought into reproach, which is hastening upon you : and though our love be despised, and we accounted hateful in your sight, and looked upon with derision, yet we bear all things in patience, truly desiring your returning and repentance, and not your destruction. But if these doleful sufferings of the Lord's poor lambs be continued by the present power, it will destroy you, and break you, and confound you, and the Lord will not cease to smite you with his rod of sharp rebukes ; and he will make you know his people's cause shall not be unpunished. Oh, did you know how hundreds have and do suffer ! How the bodies of some have been tortured by stocks and cruel whippings ! And how some are rudely treated in prisons, and others suffering sickness in the cold damps of dungeons ! Oh, did but your eyes behold, or your hearts perceive, the greatness of the cruelty which some of the Lord's dear servants, and your faithful friends, undergo, it would make your hearts ache, and your spirits tremble ! And all this is done in the name

and under the authority of the Protector: therefore, how should the Lord but lay it to your charge, and afflict him and his family? He will make you know there is a God that can do whatsoever he will, and that life and death are in his hands, and all creatures are as clay in the hands of the potter; and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and puts down one, and sets up another, according to his pleasure; but if the love of God be withholden from you, it is because of disobedience to Him, and your transgression. Wherefore, be obedient to him, and love his ways and judgments, that he may make you more happy with a crown immortal, that never fades away. And remember once more the Lord hath warned you, by a friend unto you in the Lord."

This letter did not reach his relations until the day before his death, and it was not until within a few hours of the sorrowful event, that he named his eldest son, Richard, as his successor. His last words were those of remorse, for he knew that men would utter his name with reproach, and trample on his ashes when dead. The day of his death (the third of the ninth month [September]), was remarkable for a severe storm which passed over England, uprooting trees, destroying houses by the violence of the wind, and wrecking many ships at sea. A number of persons met to pray in one of the ante-rooms, and when they heard of his decease, a person named Sterry said: "This is good news; because, if he was of great use to the people of God, when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, having ascended to heaven, there to intercede for us." If he had been the greatest saint on earth, that power would not have been given to him; and although once endued with eminent virtues, yet, during the latter part of his reign, he suffered many of his innocent people to be abused and maltreated by those who received the grant of their office from his hands, and were responsible alone to him for the manner of discharging their duties. Edward, Earl of Clarendon, said of Cromwell, that he was one of those persons whom even his enemies could not vilify, without praising. Richard Cromwell was pro-

claimed Protector of the Commonwealth, and on assuming the duties of that office, E. Burrough wrote him an account of the situation of some of his friends, and in speaking of the rulers, said :

“ As for the magistracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread, terror and limit to evil-doers, and to be a defence and praise to all that do well ; to condemn the guilty, and to justify the guiltless ; but the exercise thereof in this day in these nations is degenerated, and some that are in authority are greatly corrupted, and regard not the just and pure law of God, to judge only thereby ; but oppress the poor by injustice, and subvert the good laws of God and men, to a wrong end and use, abusing authority, and turning the sword against the just, whereby true judgment is turned backward, and the innocent made to suffer for ‘ righteousness’ sake, through the corruptions of men ; and didst thou know what we know, it would pierce thy heart. It is frequent amongst the judges and magistrates to commit a man to prison, and impose some great fine upon him, and cast him into a dungeon among thieves and murderers, for no other offence or breach of law ; but because he cannot put off his hat to them, and respect their persons by bowing on their knee. And many others who fear God, and for conscience’ sake cannot swear upon a book, because Christ saith, swear not at all ; though they deny not to speak and do the truth in all things, as in the presence of God and all men ; and others because they preach against sin, and the iniquities of the times, in teachers, rulers, and the people, in the churches, highways and market-places, as they are moved by God ; and many others, because their conscience will not permit them to pay tithes, nor give money or wages to maintain a priest or false teacher, that they receive no profit by ; or to maintain a church where the world worships in vain traditions, and not in the spirit and power of God ; and many have been taken out of peaceful meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord, and for these causes, through the envy of wicked men, and without any just conviction of the breach of any law, or any lawful

trial or examination, have hundreds of just men been sent to prison, and suffered torments and cruelty of every kind."

The churchmen had secured the influence of the new Protector, and this remonstrance had not the least effect; he was flattered by the ministers in their pulpits; and the preachers in Suffolk, to prove their loyalty called him their Joshua, and said, "though our sun is gone down, yet no night ensued. *Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.*" A pamphlet was published entitled "The Church-Faith," to which George Fox wrote an answer, and so incensed some of the members of Parliament, that one of them told him, he must go to Smithfield.

"I am over your fires and fear them not," said George Fox.

While addressing some members of Parliament, Major Wiggan said: "Christ had taken away the guilt of sin, but had left the power of sin remaining in us." George Fox said: "This was a strange doctrine, for Christ came to destroy the devil and his works, and the power of sin, and so to cleanse men from sin."

At this time the Friends suffered many bitter persecutions, their meetings were disturbed by the rabble, who were incited to commit acts of barbarity and indecency by the bigoted priests; many of their members were cast into prison, and at a meeting near London, about eighty persons were stripped of their clothes, tied and cast into ditches and ponds. Parliament appointed a committee to examine all who were imprisoned for their religion, of which Henry Vane was chairman. When the prisoners were brought to London, he first refused to let them be heard without they uncovered their heads in his presence, but through the influence of some of his best friends, he granted them an audience without enforcing this bigoted rule, and many defended themselves so ably that they regained their liberty. To encourage his friends, George Fox wrote them the following lines:

"My dear friends, everywhere scattered abroad, in prison and out of prison, fear not because of the reports of suffer-



ings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and that there are Anakims in the land; for at the blowing of the ram's horns did the walls of Jericho fall down; and they that brought the evil report, perished in the wilderness. But dwell ye in the faith, patience and hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant, Jesus Christ, which divides the waters asunder and makes them run in heaps; in that stand, and ye will see all things work together for good, to them that love God; and in that triumph when sufferings come, whatever they be. Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armor you have on. Ye are ready to skip over a mountain, a hill or a wall, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be heaps upon heaps. For the evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness, but Caleb, which signifies an heart, and Joshua, a Saviour, triumphs over all."

The body of Cromwell lay in state at Somerset House, until the twenty-third of the eleventh month [November], when a statue of him was placed in the room, which so grieved George Fox, that he wrote to the persons who placed it there in the following manner:

"Oh, friends, what are ye doing! And what mean ye to sound before an image? Will not all sober people think ye are mad?" "Oh, how am I grieved with your abominations! Oh, how am I wearied! My soul is wearied with you, saith the Lord. Will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? Oh, how have ye plucked down and set up! Oh, how are your hearts made whole, and not rent! And how ye are turned to fooleries! Which things in times past ye stood over; therefore, how have ye left my dread, saith the Lord! O, therefore, fear, and repent, lest the snare and the pit take you all. The great day of the Lord is come upon all your abominations, and the swift hand of the Lord is turned against them all. The sober people in the nation stand amazed at your doings, and are ashamed, as if you would bring in popery."

The pompous State funeral of the Protector took place on the twenty-third of the eleventh month [November], and the streets of London, the windows, the balconies, and even the roofs of houses, were densely crowded with thousands, anxious to see the great and magnificent procession in honor to the memory of Oliver Cromwell. "Alas! for him," said Burrough, whilst viewing the procession on horseback, near Charing Cross, "who was once a great instrument in the hands of the Lord to break down idolatrous images! Did not the Lord once stir up his heart against such things? And did not once his children, officers, soldiers, and army, pull down all images and crosses, and all such like popish affairs, wherever they met with them? What grievous and abominable work is this? Have they now made a costly image of him? And are such as were once his soldiers, now guarding it and watching over it, and his children and officers following it, and multitudes of the inhabitants of London wondering and gazing after an image. What a change is this in so short a time?"

His zealous testimony was printed, and the impression it made on the hearts of the people is a more lasting monument to his memory than the statue erected to Cromwell. The persecution of the Society of Friends, however, did not cease under the government of Richard Cromwell, and in the twelfth month [December], E. Burrough sent the following to the Protector and his council:

"The Lord God will shortly make you know that we are his people; though we be accounted as sheep for the slaughter, yet our King of Righteousness will break you to pieces, if you harden your hearts, and repent not. And though that love will not draw thee, neither the gentle leadings of our God have any place in you, yet judgments shall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation shall lie upon your consciences, and you will be distracted and scattered to pieces."

## CHAPTER X.

IN the beginning of this year, England was convulsed with political factions, all anxious and determined to carry out their several ends ; many adhering to the new Protector, whilst a number of the members of the Long Parliament connected themselves with the royalists, and resolved to establish Charles upon the ancient throne of their country. As there were many young and inexperienced persons who had become members of the Society of Friends, George Fox wrote them a letter to beware of plots and treason, and telling them their welfare was a spiritual one, fought without the use of carnal weapons.

William Caton made another visit to Holland, and after holding meetings at the English Alley, Eland's Graff, Angelier's Graff, Kuypers Padt, he succeeded in establishing a permanent one at Verwer's Padt, without the city's freedom, where many people flocked to hear the word of God. After making some stay at Amsterdam, he returned to England.

William Ames went to Germany, and while at Heidelberg, he visited the court of the Prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him with urbanity and kindness, and took no offence because he did not stand uncovered in his presence. Ames walking by the side of the prince in the garden, with his hat on, some of the courtiers asked if they should request the Quaker to take it off, but the prince said he did not expect him to do that. At another time, the prince requested his chaplain and Ames to dine with him, and it seems for no other purpose than to give Ames a chance to reprove the chaplain, which task he did, to the infinite pleasure of the prince.

Whilst William Ames was in the Palatine, he convinced a settlement of Baptists at Kriesheim, a town not far from Worms, which afterward emigrated to Pennsylvania, in America, just in time to avoid the desolation of a war, which soon spread itself over this part of Germany, reducing thousands to the most abject poverty.

After Ames had converted a number in Palatine, the magistrates became offended and passed a law, fining all who gave him lodging or entertainment, but the Prince-Elector, being informed of this unjust procedure on the part of his minor officers, took off the fine and rendered the law null. A year after this, Ames came to Palatine with John Higgens, and visiting the Prince-Elector, he understood from the captain of the guard, that the prince was glad of his return. For several years Ames' friends from England visited the Elector, and to his praise be it said, he always treated them with affection and kindness.

In the first month [January] of this year, W. Ames was at Rotterdam, in Holland, and while there, was confined in Bedlam, which at that time excited some attention among the people, and demands more than a passing notice. At Moordrecht, a village near Gonda, dwelt a man named Martin Martinson, a cooper by trade, who, on becoming converted to the Society of Friends, opened his house for a place of meeting. On going from his lodging to Martinson's house one first-day morning, he was followed by a multitude of riotous persons, who stoned him, and making a great noise, the priest of Gouwerek came to them and asked,

"Why they made such a sad noise?"

"Because the people were not taught better," replied Ames.

"They are not in the habit of making such a noise against honest people," said the priest; "but I believe you to be a deceiving wolf, that comes among the sheep to seduce them, and that therefore they cry against you."

"Prove it," said Ames.

"I do not know you," replied the priest.

“ Learn, then, better manners, than to call one thou knowest not, a wolf and a deceiver.”

He shortly after wrote from Rotterdam to Martinson, requesting him to wait on the priest, and ask him to appoint a time to prove he was a deceiving wolf in the flock of the Lord. When Martin went to see the priest, he did not wish to meet W. Ames ; but persisting in his demand, the priest appointed the next first-day morning, after he had finished his sermon in the church, where he would publicly prove all he had said, before the people.

The priest of Gouwerck, however, consulted with his associate at Moordrecht, who advised him not to meet the Quaker ; and they concocted and put into execution a plot to arrest him, and have him imprisoned as a madman in Bedlam. About a week after this, Martin was arrested, and placed in the same room with Ames. They remained about three weeks in Bedlam, when the deputy-governor of the house told them, “ If I were in you place, I would go out.”

“ Wilt thou suffer us to do so ?” said the prisoners.

“ I will not hinder you,” replied the governor.

“ I will not be reputed as one who broke prison,” said Ames.

“ Nay,” replied the deputy, “ why should you be reputed so ? You may go out freely : all is unlocked, and the door will be opened for you ; for the governors do not wish you to stay here.”

On the 28th of the month they left Bedlam ; but Ames told the deputy, “ That he intended to go and speak with the dikegrave,\* and if he were displeased at their going out, he might put them in again, for they would not have the name of prison-breakers.” The dikegrave sent him back to Bedlam, where he remained for a month, during which time he wrote a reply to the Answer of Jacob Koelman to eighty-three queries given to the German people by Ames, some time before. On gaining his liberty, he returned to England,

\* A German justice.

but soon after went again to Holland, in company with William Caton.

An account of the sufferings of the Society of Friends was published, and delivered to the Speaker of Parliament, Thomas Bampfield, for the purpose of exposing the persecution of some of the petty officers under their authority. It contained a list of one hundred and forty persons who were deprived of their possessions, and cruelly imprisoned, for holding religious meetings, refusing to swear, and not paying tithes: of this number, twenty-one died in prison, either from the sickness generated in their filthy abodes, or from the violent abuses inflicted upon them by the rabble and the jailors. Richard Sale, formerly a constable near West Chester, was placed in so small a cell, that the compression swelled his body; and he died from pain and suffocation. It is computed that nearly two thousand persons, who by the Word of God became members of his meeting, were forced, during the last six years, to suffer almost every kind of cruelty for the belief they had imbibed from the Fountain of all good. A petition was also sent to Parliament by one hundred and sixty persons, who offered themselves as hostages for their brethren now in prison; and under their names the following sentence was added: "If we had been of Esau's race, we should have fainted before this time; and if we had been of Cain's progeny, we should have fought with his weapons: but this never was, neither is it the way of the righteous and chosen, of which we are from the foundation of the world." In the 4th month [April], this was given to Parliament; but they did not accept the offer, nor release the prisoners.

Edward Burrough published a letter to the rulers of the Commonwealth, predicting that in the next year the Protector should be displaced, and King Charles II. fully established on his throne.

"Wherefore, all ye rulers," he wrote, "and all ye that have trodden down the heritage of God, and ye that have disregarded these many warnings that ye have had; I say unto

you all, in the power of the Lord God, in his dominion, and by his spirit, this is once more a warning to you from the Lord, and that these things must surely come to pass, and be fulfilled in their season, and no man shall be able to deliver his brother; but every man shall bear his own burden, and drink the cup prepared for him. And though it hath been counted a light thing amongst you, and you have despised the reproof, and gone on without fear; yet, inasmuch as the Lord hath spared you, and not speedily executed judgment upon you, but rather waited for your return; yet the dealing of the Lord towards you, you have not accepted; and therefore shall his judgments be greater upon you. For if you do not come to the witness in your own consciences, what evil hath this people done? Whose ox have they taken, or what have they desired of you? Or what have they sought from you? Or wherein have they been a burden to you?—saving that they have reproved you for your own iniquities, and desired your redemption! Would you but now at last come to consider this, and confess the truth in your consciences; will not that tell you, that they have patiently suffered all things that you have cruelly imposed upon them? And have they not walked peaceably towards you, and humbly, meekly and justly, among their neighbors? Have they sought to overthrow the government, or have they sought vengeance against their enemies? Or what injury have they done to any man's person or estate, saving to Satan and his kingdom? Have they not sought to reform and reclaim the ungodly from their ways? And have they not pitied and prayed for their enemies? And have they not in all things walked in good conscience towards the Lord and all men. Yea, my friends, in the day of the Lord, when the witness in your conscience shall not be limited, but shall speak plainly; and when the impartial Judge shall appear upon his throne, then shall you acknowledge these things.

“The visitation of the Lord is near an end, when his loving-kindness will be shut from you, and his long suffering turned into fury; and he will make you know we are his

people, with whom you have thus dealt. The time will come when he will crown his people in sight of his enemies; he will crown them with praise, and with righteousness, with honor and majesty, and he will keep them in safety, even when you are surrounded with sorrow; his mercy and loving-kindness shall extend towards them even when his wrath and judgments smite you, and confound you. O! what shall I say unto you; for the deep sense thereof remains in my heart; when I consider, how in all ages the Lord avenged his people's cause, and when the time of their suffering expired, he broke the bonds of iniquity and set them free. Thus did he with his people Israel of old, and many times it was his way with his people to bring them low by suffering, and then to raise them up again in glory: and he suffered their enemies for a season to glory over them, that he might bring them down. And thus he did in England, in the case between the bishops and their crew of persecutors, and the poor people, in that day called Puritans. And is not he the same, to effect the same work at this very day? Yea, doubtless, and much more will he do, inasmuch as the manifestation of truth is more clear than it was in their day; and inasmuch as the rulers and people of this nation have rejected a more clear testimony, than either the papists of Queen Mary's days, or the bishops and prelates in their days, even so much more will the Lord God execute his vengeance with more violence, in a more manifest way; and all shall know that it is he that doth it, and he will set his people free; for he hath regarded their sufferings, and hath said it is enough; he hath tried them and found them faithful; all this hath been suffered to prove them and not destroy them. And like as he hath preserved them in patience and peace through it all, even so will he give them hearts to walk answeringly to their deliverance; and as they have abounded in patience in their sufferings, so shall they abound in praises everlasting in the day of their freedom, and the earth shall be glad, and shall yield the increase and blessing; the heaven and earth shall rejoice, and the hearts of the righteous shall beat with joy;



when the Lord hath broken the yoke of the oppressed, and set his people free, inwardly and outwardly ; and then shall they sing to the Lord, over all their enemies, who shall be tormented and vexed in the Lord's displeasure ; for their reward cometh, and their recompense shall be even as their work, and he will give unto them sorrow and anguish, instead of rejoicing.

“ Again, when I consider how the Lord raised his people, even out of the dust ; and those who were not a people ; and the Lord hath carried on this work amongst his people, not by anything of man, nor by the arm of flesh, but in pure innocence and simplicity hath it been accomplished ; not by the wisdom of this world, nor by men in places of honor and of power in the nations ; for all that has been wanting to them ; and what they are, it is through the opposition of all this ; for they have none of the great men of the earth on their side to defend them and establish them, but all have been against them, and even oppression and tyranny executed upon them, rather than any approbation, or justification from men in outward authority. So that truly it may be said, there hath been nothing of man in this work, but all of the Lord, by his own power, and in a contrary way to all the false sects, and false churches, hath the beginning and carrying on of these things been ; for we know that all the false sects in this nation have risen and been established through the countenance of men in place and power, and upon man, and the wisdom of this world, and authority of the powers of earth, hath the rise and fall of all false churches depended. And as the powers of the earth have sided with them, so have they been set up ; and at the displeasure of authority have been cast down. But as for this people, they are raised of the Lord, and established by him, even contrary to all men ; and they have given their power only to God, and they cannot give their power to any mortal man, to stand and fall by an outward authority, and to that they cannot seek ; but to the Lord alone, who heareth their cry and will avenge their cause.

“ Wherefore, let all the persecutors bow before the Lord,

and let all the saints walk humbly in his sight, and let them continue in that innocent life in which they have begun; and let them never forget the mercies of the Lord, and what he hath brought to pass, who hath manifested great things, and will do more and more to the confounding of all his enemies, and to the praise of his elect people. And all ye saints upon the earth, have ye the Lord in respect continually, and turn you not unto idols, but let the Lord be your joy for evermore."

In the fifth month [May], Edward Burrough and Samuel Fisher went to Dover. The deputy-governor of the English castle, Colonel Alsop, not being friendly to the Society of which they were members, sent word to know their business in Dover: the next morning they wrote a letter, stating that their object was to visit the Jesuits, friars, priests, and other papists, and show them the error of their ways. The deputy told them it would be dangerous to remain in town, and desired them to depart; but they answered, "If he desired them, they could not receive any such desire; and if he commanded them, they could not obey his command; because they could not leave the town but in the will of God, according to which will they came thither. E. Burrough preached to the capuchin friars the next day, and wrote the following queries to them, in Latin:

"The mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming unto you, and all the world. Awake, awake, ye that sleep in the earth, for the dreadful God is arising to plead with you, and to give unto all the world the cup of his fierce indignation, because of your idolatry, hypocrisy, and abominations, which have corrupted the earth, and are come up before him, and provoked him; and the cry of the just, who hath been smitten, is heard by the Most High; and his sword, which is the word of his mouth, will wound and destroy all his enemies. The day of your visitation is now come, wherein the Lord is searching you, and trying you, that he may recompense. And this is the word of the Lord to you.

“Wherefore I am moved by the Lord to propound some few queries, for the trial of your spirits and your ways; to which I demand your answer, that all things may be brought to light and true judgment, and that you may be judged justly, and by the Spirit of the Lord cleared, or condemned according to your deeds.”

During their stay in Dover, they went to the college of Jesuits, and held a conference of about three hours with the chief rector, when he became weary of their reasoning, and left, without promising, as they wished, to meet them at another more convenient time. Burrough wrote several propositions to the Jesuits, priests, and friars, in which he represented the tyranny of the Church of Rome in its true light: but these letters were not answered. Burrough also wrote to the soldiers of the English garrison, and told them to be faithful to the Lord, and not to seek honor for themselves in the service, but the honor of God. He followed the example of John the Baptist, when he spoke to the soldiers, and showed them in what consisted their military duty: “What do you know but the Lord may have some good work for you to do, if you be faithful to Him? And since the Lord will one day avenge the innocent blood shed in the Pope’s dominions, and appear against Babylon and Rome, the seat of the whore and the kingdom of Antichrist, it seems not improbable the Lord will make an opening of the way by the English nation. It is the Lord’s work, I know, to make men truly religious; but yet he may work by you to destroy all obstacles that set themselves against Him. If such a work falls to your lot, do not be ambitious, nor vain-glorious, but make it your work to demand the disannulling of the Popish inquisition and cruel laws.” He also charged the officers not to be tyrants and oppressors over the poor soldiers, but be loving and meek, and examples of goodness unto them. Lest they should think he was in favor of war, and not a friend to the harmlessness of non-resistance, he told them, “That the Lord had a more honorable work for them to perform—to destroy the kingdom of the devil, and

the ground of all wars; and they were to lead on to a more honorable victory—the victory over sin.”

The power of the Protector, Richard Cromwell, was gradually declining. The officers of the army advised him to dissolve the existing Parliament, many of whose members it was thought were in favor of the restoration of King Charles to the throne; and, in accordance with the request of the chief republicans, the Long Parliament was again summoned. It appointed a Committee of Safety for the purpose of apprehending all who disturbed the peace, and making such alteration in the military laws as the interest of the commonwealth required. Increasing in power, it selected a council of state, and sent word to Richard Cromwell, who was now deprived of all authority, to remove from Whitehall, which order he was forced to obey; and Parliament granting him two thousand pounds, besides pledging themselves to pay all debts he contracted for the public good, stripped him of all command,—brought him from power, and placed him as low as the most private citizen. His brother Henry, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was also recalled, and his power wrenched from him by the Parliament. The friends of King Charles raised an insurrection in Cheshire, under the guidance of Sir George Booth, who, having received a commission from the prince, enlisted a number of followers, and seized the city of Chester. Parliament despatched General Lambert to the seat of war; and, after a serious battle, Booth was defeated,—taken prisoner whilst attempting to escape in woman's apparel,—and by an order of the council of state, committed to the Tower. Edward Ludlow was sent to Ireland, and appointed Commander-in-chief of the army in that kingdom. Some rash persons who had connected themselves with the Society of Friends, wished to take up arms; and General Lambert offered them many inducements to such a course. But George Fox wrote them a letter showing the unlawfulness of wars and fightings, representing it as a work not at all becoming the followers of Christ; and he exhorted his friends not to join with those

who took up arms, but to fight only with spiritual, which destroyed the occasion for carnal weapons.

George Fleetwood was commander-in-chief of the army; and, in connection with the other officers, attempted to wrest the supreme power of the nation from parliament and place it under the control of the army, which caused great division, and met with considerable opposition among the people. The military officers were in favor of the abolishment of tithes, and providing some other maintenance for the ministers of the established Church; they complained of having been deceived by Parliament; and Colonel Desborough said to that body, "You have not performed any part of the promises you made to the army; you have taken no care to secure liberty of conscience; and your present intention is to remove the principal officers and put others in their places, who hold different and contrary principles." The council of officers were in favor of calling a new Parliament. They made arrangement with the clergy that the tithes should not be abolished until some other revenue, as ample and certain, should be settled upon them; they also made some provisions for several other sects who slightly differed in faith and worship from the established Church; but the Quakers, whose principles, they said, tended to the destruction of civil society, were not to be tolerated. In this fearful dilemma of public affairs, Edward Burrough wrote and published a paper styled, "A Message to the present rulers of England, whether committee of safety, council of officers, or others whatsoever." Our limits will not permit the introduction of the whole of this admirable document, but we will endeavor to give the principal arguments and good advice it contains, without wearying the reader with much that would prove uninteresting. He commences by describing the power of God, and praising Him for the many advantages and favors he has at all times granted to the English nation. He says, "God will purify the people in judgment, refine them with the fire of tribulations, set up righteousness, sway the government with his own sceptre, overthrow all oppressors, and

the kingdoms of this world must become his kingdoms and glorify his name. The late reformation did in some measure free the nation from much tyranny and cruelty in destroying the power of the Pope throughout the kingdom, but the people have the last few years suffered as much injustice and inhumanity under the succeeding power, as they ever endured during the reign of Mary or any other Catholic sovereign." To the Committee of Safety, he said ; " Your kingdom may prove but small and little and full of uproars and troubles, and little peace and satisfaction to yourselves and the people under you ; confusion will attend you, and you will be compassed with many fears. Something, you may or ought to do, if but to expose the false church with all its guilt and abhorrence, more than your successors have dared to do. You have a price put into your hands, which you may improve to the Lord's honor, to the nation's good, and to your own happiness ; which if you be faithful to the Lord ; do what he requires of you ; if you become meek and humble men and fear his name, deny yourselves—not seek your own honor, nor any earthly advantage to yourselves ; if you do this, then my Lord will show mercy to you, and you shall not fall into the power of your enemies, though many may rise up against you ; but your days shall be lengthened, that the purpose of the Lord may be turned to your long continuance and not to your sudden destruction. If you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then shall you be honored as men, if not as an authority ; and the nation will enjoy peace, and you shall not suddenly fall. But if you always be treacherous and disobedient towards him, abuse your power, and trifle away your hour about places of honor, and such self-seeking matters, and the cause of God be neglected by you, and his people continue in suffering, then shall you be cast aside with shameful disgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you in judgment, and you shall be smitten more than any one before you ; your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your souls from the pit, nor your persons from the vio-

lence of men ; no ! nor your neck from the axe ; for if you be unfaithful, and continually treacherous to the cause of God, then shall you be left to the will of your enemies, and they shall charge treachery and treason upon you, and your persons and estates shall be given for a pay to your enemies ; and you shall not deliver yourselves, neither will the Lord deliver you from the execution of merciless men, for he will leave the cruel-hearted to plead with you."

Concerning the ministers of the established Church, he uses the following language ; " They are the woful cause of the nation groaning under merciless dealing, and there is upon their account, the guilt of blood, injustice and oppression ; their iniquities cry for vengeance upon their own heads ; for they are full, and the measure thereof is nearly finished, and God's eternal vengeance is their next reward from the eternal God. What shall I say of them but this ? The earth is oppressed by them—the inhabitants groan under them, and the righteous God is vexed by them. Are these the men that the nation are forced to maintain in their pride and idolatry ? Is this the ministry that must be encouraged ? I must tell you the hand of the Lord is against them, and whosoever shall seek to defend them, shall not prosper in their doings, because their oppressions, cruelties, deceits, and abominations, are nigh finished and fulfilled. Let this ministry alone, and join not yourselves to Baal, lest you perish, neither take part with Antichrist any longer, neither be ye fighters against the Lamb and his kingdom ; but free the nation, and let all its inhabitants be freed, from the cruel tasks and yokes of such men, and such a ministry, as aforesaid ; uphold it not against the Lord, for if you do, you shall never inherit heaven."

In speaking of the Society of Friends he says, " The Lord will assuredly honor them, and his hand shall be continued to preserve them and defend them against all their enemies whatsoever ; and he doth reserve them to himself and for a glorious work ; he hath formed them for himself, and they

cannot join with any of the horns of the great beast, neither can a place of honor pervert them from their perfect way."

The sequel will show how true some of these prophecies were fulfilled, particularly those concerning the rulers of the nation. E. Burrough also wrote several epistles to his friends, exhorting them to faithfulness, and to lay up their treasures in heaven, that they might enjoy a crown of everlasting glory.

Among the eminent preachers of this period, STEPHEN CUSE was distinguished for his eloquence and power in declaring the word of God in every town and city in Scotland, during a visit to that part of the kingdom, in the ninth month [September] of this year. In the tenth month [October], George Fox held a large and respectable meeting at Norwich, and among his audience were several priests, who accused him of error and blasphemy. They said George Fox asserted - That people must wait upon God by his power and Spirit and feel his presence when they did not speak words."

George Fox asked them - Whether the Apostles and Holy men of God did not hear God speak to them in their silence before they wrote the Scripture?"

- "David and the Prophets did so," replied the priests.

When some of the assembly called on the priests to prove wherein George Fox had uttered blasphemy and error, they went away and never after troubled a - Quaker meeting," as they termed it. George Fox, the younger, wrote several letters to Parliament and told them - That their day was turn-  
-ed into darkness, and their sun had set: that the decree had gone forth, sealed against them, and it could not be recalled."

The Committee of Safety were the rulers of the nation, but held their power against the will of a majority of the people. Edward Ludlow, Lord Deputy of Ireland, continued to urge the policy of restoring the authority of Parliament: and General Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, aiming at the restoration of the king, wrote to Ludlow, the speaker, saying, would you force the Parliament if it was re-



stored; and in a short time the affairs of the English nation were again under the control of that body. E. Burrough and George Fox, the younger, wrote warnings to Parliament, pointing out the work of the Lord in the many changes of government, and exhorting them to follow the paths of truth and righteousness.

## CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL MONK, who was a staunch and unflinching friend to Charles Stuart, although he concealed it, 1660. marched part of his army to London, and after discharging the officers who were in favor of the Parliament, he promoted those who were friendly to the restoration of the exiled king. Through his influence with many of the members of Parliament, he procured the release of Sir George Booth, who, it will be remembered, was confined in the Tower for leading the insurrection at Chester, and also secured London in such a manner, that his enemies could not seriously oppose his design. He also arrested several of the judges who condemned King Charles the First, who, together with General Lambert, were confined in the Tower. Gradually his power increased, until he again fully established the House of Lords, which was destroyed in 1648.

During this excitement, George Fox came to London, and writing a letter to the leaders of the political party whose power was about to expire, he told them, "That the prophecies were fulfilled concerning them, and that they who formerly called the Quakers, giddy, had but too seriously proved themselves heedless and unsteady."

George Fox left London and went to Somersetshire, where the meetings of Friends were often disturbed by some unruly persons. Whilst he was addressing an assembly of people, a man came in the room dressed in a bear-skin, and placing himself before him, made some sport for his wicked followers, and caused great disturbance in the meeting. This man afterwards met with a fearful judgment; for in passing a field where there was a bull-baiting, he ventured too near, and

the bull mangled him in the most horrible manner. George Fox was at Cornwall, when there was a great storm at sea, wrecking many vessels, and driving them on the Land's End of that county. The inhabitants, as usual, instead of endeavoring to save the persons on board, used every exertion to collect all the goods and valuables that were driven on shore. Although many of these wreckers were professed Christians, yet they acted worse than the heathens of Melita, who courteously received Paul when he was wrecked on that island. George Fox wrote to the magistrates, priests, and people, showing them the wickedness of robbing those who were exposed to the fierce sea storms, and bidding them repent; he exhorted them to do unto others as they would have others do unto them. After addressing several meetings in Cornwall, he went to Bristol, and soothing some disturbances among his friends, he held a large meeting near that city, and convinced many, who heretofore were bitter enemies to the Society.

Complaint having been made at Westminster, to George Monk, that some of his soldiers were in the habit of disturbing meetings of the Society, he issued the following order :

“ ST. JAMES, March 9th, 1660.

“ I do require all officers and soldiers, to forbear to disturb the peaceful meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Commonwealth of England.

“ GEORGE MONK.”

This was manly and upright conduct on the part of Monk, who, although he inserted “ Commonwealth,” was making efficient arrangements to have the king restored. Charles, for several years, resided at Cologne, but Monk persuaded him to make a voyage to Spain; and he afterwards went to France, from that to Brussels, then to Breda, where he issued a proclamation, calling upon his friends to acknowledge him and raise his standard throughout the kingdom. This proclamation is dated the fourteenth of the fourth month [April], 1660, and in it the king says he will consent to any act or

acts of Parliament which had been made for the relief of the people, and will satisfy the officers and soldiers under General Monk, by settling all arrears that are due. It was sent to the House of Lords, and a duplicate was delivered to the House of Commons, who, on the eighth of May, after serious and mature consideration, proclaimed Charles Stuart rightful sovereign of the kingdom of Great Britain. On his return, the king was invited by the French to come by the way of Calais, and by the Spaniards to pass through Brussels; but at the request of the States-General of the United Provinces, he went in the States' yacht to Rotterdam, thence by land to Hague, where remaining a few days, he sailed from Schevelinghen to England, and made his entry into London on the anniversary of his birthday.

In the fifth month [May], George Fox, the younger, went to Harwich, where he intended holding a meeting, but the mayor, Miles Hubbard, ordered him to be arrested under the pretence of having caused a riot. When the police took him into custody, he said, "If I have done anything worthy of death, or bonds, I shall not refuse either, but I desire you to show me what law I have transgressed; which you ought to do before you send me to prison, that I may know for what cause I am sent thither."

"You shall know that afterwards," replied the mayor.

Robert Grassingham, a shipwright of the Admiralty, offered to accompany him to his prison, which seemed to please the mayor, who said concerning Grassingham: "If I could get him out of town, I should know what course to take with the other Quaker." Notice of their arrest and imprisonment was sent to Parliament, who, on receiving the information, issued the following order:

"The House being informed that two Quakers, George Fox and Robert Grassingham, have made a disturbance at Harwich, and that the said George Fox, who pretends to be a preacher, did lately, in his preaching there, speak words reflecting on the government and ministry, which tended to pro-

duce a meeting, is now committed by the mayor and magistrates of that place—

*“Ordered,* That the said George Fox and Robert Grassingham be forthwith brought in custody ; and that the sheriff of the county of Essex do receive them, and give them his assistance for the conveyance of them accordingly, and delivering them into the charge of the sergeant-at-arms of this House.

*“Ordered,* That the thanks of this House be given to the mayor and magistrates of Harwich for their care in this business.”

By this it appeared the magistrates of Harwich were special friends of the members of Parliament. George Fox was delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and on their way to London, they met Robert Grassingham, who had been set at liberty, and received an order from the commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, for refitting one of the king's frigates ; but the sheriff took him in custody, and delivered them both to the sergeant-at-arms, who committed them to Lambeth-House. After remaining three weeks in this place, they wrote a letter to the House of Commons, giving some account of their imprisonment, and desiring that their accusers might be brought face to face before the Parliament, and saying : “ That if anything could be proved against them, worthy of punishment, they should not refuse it. But they thought it unjust and unreasonable that a man should be taken out of a peaceable meeting, and sent to prison without being examined, only for declaring against the cursing and wickedness of rude people, and against such as suffered such ungodliness and do not seek to suppress it.”

As it was simply addressed to the “ Speaker of the House of Commons,” and not to the “ Right Honorable, the House of Commons,” the Speaker would not deliver it to Parliament, but, by the help of their friends, they had it published, and placed a copy in the hands of every member. It was fourteen weeks after they arrived at Lambeth prison, before

Parliament took any action on their case, when, on motion of one of the members, the following resolution was passed :

*“Ordered, That George Fox and Robert Grassingham, who, by virtue of a former order of this house, were taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms for some disturbance at Harwich, be forthwith released, and set at liberty, upon bail first given, to render themselves when they shall be required.”*

Shortly after this order was issued, the sergeant-at-arms sent his clerk to demand fifty pounds for fees, and ten shillings a week for room rent. But knowing that they had transgressed no law, they determined not to satisfy this unjust demand, yet they offered to pay two shillings and sixpence for the room, although this would be exorbitant, as it was the highest room in a lofty tower, with the windows unglazed. Their case was left to the king's privy council, and after using every evasion to retain them in custody, they were finally released.

During his imprisonment, he wrote a small book which was entitled, “A noble salutation to King Charles Stewart,” in which he explained the policy of the administration for several years previous. “Therefore,” said he, “let no man deceive thee, by persuading thee that these things are thus brought to pass, because the kingdom was thy own proper right, and because it was withheld from thee contrary to all right; or because those called royalists are much more righteous than those who are now fallen under thee. For I plainly declare unto thee, that this kingdom, and all the kingdoms of the earth, are properly the Lord's. And this know, that it was the just hand of God, in taking away the kingdom from thy father and thee, and giving it to others; and also it was the hand of God that took it away from them and again placed it in thy power.”

He exhorted the king to consider, “that his station was not without danger, on account of the instability of the people, many of whom were perfidious, since they once were in favor of a king and parliament, and shortly after swore against a

king and the House of Lords, and afterwards again swore to support the government of a single person."

The author dwells upon the wickedness of the people, in becoming beastly drunk, to show their loyalty to the king; he relates his having preached at Harwich against the grievous wickedness of the people, and also the sufferings of his imprisonment.

An eminent royalist, since supposed to be Edward, Earl of Clarendon and High Chancellor of England, wrote several queries to the "Quakers," desiring to know if they thought the king's government possessed the essentials for stability, and many others of a similar character. Edward Burrough wrote and published an answer, in which he said: "That in some of their writings it had been signified, that they had some expectation of the king's restoration. That the king's coming to the throne was reasonable and equitable, because it was the will of the Lord. That his reign and government might be blessed or not blessed, according to the manner he swayed his power. If we suffer under the king's government, it is for the name of Christ; because nothing can be charged against us in this capacity as we now stand, and in this state unto which we are now gathered and changed, nor in any matter of action or rebellion against the king, nor his father, or that we sought their destruction as men; but upon sober and reasonable principles, and not for corrupt ends, nor to get honor and riches to ourselves, as some others might do, who went into the war for their own benefit."

In another place, he says, "But this is not a time to accuse one another, but to forgive one another and so overcome your enemies. When they gained the victory, they did not reform, but became oppressors, as well as others, and became cruel to all who would not do as they dictated. And for this cause the Lord hath brought them down, and may justly suffer others to deal with them as they have dealt with others. Yet notwithstanding, I must still say, and it is my judgment, that there was very great oppression and vexation under the government of the late king and bishops under his

power, which the Lord was offended with, and many good people oppressed, for which cause the Lord might and did justly raise up some to oppose, and strive against oppression and injustice, and to press after reformation in all things."

After completely answering each query separately, he concluded with an excellent exhortation to the king, bidding him to walk humbly before the Lord, and fear and reverence his mighty name.

George Fox, senior, on leaving Bristol, went to Gloucester, Worcester, Drayton, the place of his nativity, and from thence to Yorkshire, where a large yearly meeting was held in an orchard, near Balby. Whilst he was addressing the meeting, a troop of horse arrived from York for the purpose of dispersing it. The captain, riding up to the stand, commanded George Fox to come down, and also told the people to go quietly to their respective homes. George Fox said, "They are peaceable people, and not met with any hostile intention."

"But they must be dispersed, for I have come thirty miles to do it," replied the captain.

"What honor," said George Fox, "would it be to ride with arms of war among so many unarmed men and women? If the soldiers will be still and quiet, the meeting will disperse of its own accord in a few hours."

Leaving a few of his company to disperse them within an hour, the captain left the ground; the soldiers acted very kindly, and permitted the meeting to remain unmolested; and finally the Friends dispersed it themselves. A general meeting was held at Skipton, in relation to the affairs of the Society throughout England, and to take into consideration the wants of those who were reduced to utter poverty, by the magistrates and collectors of tithes. Some persons endeavored to disturb the assembly; but when they saw the benevolence and charity manifested for the poor, they were surprised, and left the meeting in peace and quietness.

After holding several meetings in Lancaster, George Fox went to Swarthmore, and was arrested at the house of Mar-



garet Fell, who was now a widow. They took him to Ulverstone, where he remained guarded all night in the constable's house by fifteen men; and the next morning he was taken to Lancaster and examined before Henry Porter, the magistrate who had granted the warrant for his arrest. He told George Fox, he had received an order to have him arrested, but would not let the prisoner see it, and hurried him away to prison. Two Friends, Thomas Green and Thomas Commings, a minister, went to the jailor, to see the mittimus in his possession, and found that it charged George Fox with being a disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and the chief of the Quaker Society. And that he, together with others of the same religious belief, had endeavored to raise insurrections in different parts of the country and embroil the kingdom in blood. No wonder the justice refused to let George Fox see this paper, when it contained so many wilful falsehoods. Margaret Fell wrote the following paper, and sent it abroad for the information of those who were not present, to see the injury she sustained by the searching of her house for a peaceable and upright man.

“To all magistrates:—I do inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster, sent a warrant with four constables to my house, for which he had no authority or order. They searched the premises and apprehended George Fox, who was not guilty of the breach of any law or any offence against any in the nation. After they had taken him, and brought him before Henry Porter, he refused to receive bail for his faithful appearance before the court to answer the false charge preferred against him. After sending him to prison, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any prisoner, that he might see what was against him. But it was denied, because the magistrates were well aware that he was not guilty of all the different specifications. Let the governors consider this matter. I am concerned in this thing, because he was ap-

prehended in my house, and if he be guilty, I am guilty also. I desire the truth to be unveiled."

Margaret Fell determined to go to London, and lay the truth before the king; and Porter, fearing the result, also went. But as some of the members of the Parliament advised him not to see Charles, on account of his having once taken up arms against him, he returned again to Lancaster, and endeavored to obtain the release of George Fox. The mayor, however, had said, in the mittimus, "that Fox should be kept a close prisoner until he was delivered to the king or parliament;" and the jailor, therefore, refused to set him free, without an order from some higher power than the committing magistrate. Anne Curtis, whose father, once sheriff of Bristol, was hung for his loyalty to the king, accompanied Margaret Fell to London. They were kindly granted an audience, and promised that an order should be immediately sent to have George Fox brought to London. The promise, however, was not fulfilled for two months; during which time, the prisoner wrote several epistles to his friends, and the following one to the king.

"Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by a victorious war, but by the power of the Lord; now if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. And if the Lord hath showed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. And if thou dost not stop persecution and persecutors, and destroy all laws that uphold persecution on account of religion; but if thou dost persist in them and uphold persecution, it will make thee as blind as those that have gone before you; for persecution hath always blinded those that have committed it, and such God by his power overthrows and brings salvation to the oppressed. And if thou dost bear the sword in vain, and permit sin and abominations to contaminate the land, the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and the Lord will again overthrow them. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in

which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. So hear and consider and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power; and be merciful and forgiving, that is the way to overcome, and obtain the Kingdom of Christ."

The sheriff of Lancaster intended to send a troop of horse to convey him to London, but George Fox pledging his word to appear before the court on a stipulated day, the sheriff permitted him to be released from prison. He arrived in London, with Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers on the same day that some of the judges, who condemned Charles the First, were hung and quartered at Charing Cross, thus fulfilling the prophecy made by Edward Burrough concerning them a few years before. In company with a man named Marsh, one of the king's bed-chamber, he went before Lord Chief Justice Foster, who read in open Court charges against him, and on coming to the one relative to embroiling the nation in blood, George Fox arose and said: "I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and know nothing about war. Do ye think, that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself, against myself? Or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? For had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse. But the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire had thought fit to let me and my friends come up by ourselves, almost two hundred miles, without any guard, which they would not have done, if they had looked upon me as such a man."

As no accuser appeared in court, Marsh arose and told the judges, it was the king's pleasure that George Fox should be set at liberty, and he then read the following order from the king's secretary:

"It is His Majesty's pleasure, that you give order for the releasing and setting at full liberty, the person of George

Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail and commanded hither by an habeas corpus. And this signification of His Majesty's pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of Oct., 1660."

When this order was delivered to the judges, they forthwith sent the following warrant to the marshal of the king's bench, for the release of the prisoner.

"By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the Right Honorable Sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of His Majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and from thence brought hither by habeas corpus, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release, and set the said prisoner, George Fox, at liberty; for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660.

THOMAS MALLEY, Judge."

Thus George Fox was honorably acquitted by the king, after being twenty weeks in jail, for which many persuaded him to enter proceedings against Justice Porter, for false imprisonment, but he said, "He would leave him to the Lord; if the Lord forgave him, he should not trouble himself by taking the advantage the law offered."

By some means, Richard Hubberthorn gained an audience with the king, to whom he gave a relation of the sufferings of his friends, and the king promised that henceforth they should not suffer for their opinions or religion, which promise, however, was not adhered to.

## CHAPTER XII.

It may be well to direct the reader's mind to a few interesting incidents which took place without the boundaries of England, as they may prove interesting on account of their novelty and singularity. John Perrot and John Love went to Leghorn, and having been examined by the inquisition of that place, they answered so satisfactorily in the opinion of the judges, that they were discharged. At Venice, Perrot was admitted into the presence of the Doge, and allowed to present him with some books, written and published by some of the leading members of the Society of Friends. From thence he went, with his fellow traveller, to Rome, where they preached in the most public manner against the sin and idolatry of that city, for which they were soon arrested and cast into the prison of the Inquisition. John Love died in their dungeons, but Perrot proved an apostate, and thereby regained his liberty. Samuel Fisher and John Stubs also went to Rome, where they spoke to the cardinals concerning the superstitions of the Popish religion, and gave some books to the Friars, who acknowledged the truth of their contents, but told them it would not do to make their opinion public, or they would be burnt for it.

Mary Fisher, one of the first of the Society of Friends, on her return from New England, whither she went on a mission, made a voyage to Adrianople, at the time Sultan Mahomet the Fourth was encamped with his army near that city. She went to the camp alone, and sent a soldier to the tent of the Grand Vizier, to tell him that an English woman had a message from the Holy God to the Sultan. The next morning she was admitted into his presence, and through the aid of

three interpreters, he told her, to speak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they possessed good hearts, and could hear it. "Speak the word," said he, "you had to say from the Lord, neither more or less, for we are willing to hear it, be it what it may."

She then addressed him and his officers for some time, to which the Turks listened with much attention and gravity ; when she finished, she asked the Sultan whether he understood what was said, and he replied in the affirmative, at the same time desiring her to remain in that country, for his nation could not but respect one, who came from a great country, with a message to their Sultan from the Lord God. As she was about to travel to Constantinople, the Sultan offered to send a guard with her for protection, but she refused the offer, contented to depend on the Saviour for her safety. When she left the tent some Turks asked her, "What she thought of their Prophet Mahomet?"

"I know him not," she replied, "I only know Christ, the true prophet, the Son of God, who is the light of the world, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Concerning Mahomet, you may judge him to be true or false, according to the words and prophecies he spoke. If the word spoken by a prophet come to pass, then you will know that the Lord hath sent him ; but if it come not to pass, then the Lord never sent him."

The Turks confessed this reasoning to be correct, and Mary departed alone for Constantinople, where she arrived without the least difficulty, and soon after returned safely to England.

The revolution in the affairs of England brought retribution on those, who, whilst in power, exercised the most vile cruelty and inhumanity upon the innocent and harmless. The ministers of Christ had often warned them of their barbarous conduct, and told them that God would one day hear the cry of the widows and fatherless, and although they might scorn them now, yet the day would come when they should be cast into the same dungeons, in which they once immured

the innocent, on account of worshipping God according to the dictates of the spirit within. Many of the late king's judges were hung and quartered, among whom was Colonel Francis Hacker, who six years before cast George Fox into prison; it will be remembered that when in his presence, George Fox compared him to Pontius Pilate, and told him, when the day of his misery and trial should come, to remember what he had then said to him. Robert Huntington once went to the church at Brough, near Carlisle, wrapped in a sheet and a halter about his neck, to show the Presbyterians and Independents that the surplice would soon be introduced, and that some of them should not escape the halter. Howsoever mad this prophecy might appear, yet time showed it to be a presage of the impending disaster which shortly overtook these persecutors.

A few prominent members of the Society of Friends, gained permission to appear before the House of Lords, where they gave reasons for not frequenting the worship of the established Church; why they could not swear, nor pay tithes; and at the solicitation of Margaret Fell, the king ordered about seven hundred persons to be set at liberty, who were imprisoned for their religious opinions, during the administrations of Oliver and Richard Cromwell.

Thus encouraged, they seemed to have a prospect of better times, than any they had experienced, since they were distinguished as a separate Society; their meetings were very large and quiet; multitudes flocked to them from curiosity, or better motives; many were convinced, and their numbers greatly increased; but this calm was not of long duration. In the eleventh month [November], the Fifth-monarchy men raised an insurrection under the guidance of a wine-cooper, named Venner, who having appealed to his followers in a passionate harangue, they marched through the streets triumphantly, everywhere proclaiming King Jesus. With an assembled band of well-trained men the magistrates made an attack upon them, and after defending themselves a short time, they made a retreat to Canewood, near Hampstead,

where, taking possession of a house, they defended themselves against a body of troops until most of their number were killed. The few survivors were taken prisoners, tried, condemned and executed. This unhappy insurrection was made a pretext for the bishops and magistrates to throw a suspicion of disloyalty upon all sects, except the established Church. Violating every principle of justice, mercy and truth, an order of council was issued against meetings of the different dissenting sects, either in great numbers or at unusual times; and on the tenth of the same month, a proclamation was published whereby the king forbade the Anabaptists, Quakers and Fifth-monarchy-men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except in private houses. Thus the Society of Friends were again exposed to a fresh and severe persecution, and George Fox was taken prisoner; but his friend, Esquire Marsh, made application for his liberty to Lord Gerard, who authorized the marshal to release him. This persecution was not confined to London, but with the proclamation spread with similar violence over all, or most parts of the nation; they were taken from their meetings, habitations and employments, and without conviction, crimination, or any legal cause, violently carried to prison, till in many places the prisons were so crowded that they were almost suffocated in close, damp, and unhealthy rooms.

Margaret Fell waited personally on the king several times, to solicit his indulgence and protection; she told him, "That they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did no injury, and administered no occasion of offence, except in keeping up their religious meetings, for no other purpose but worshipping God, in that way they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, and edifying one another in his fear; which being to them a conscientious matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in compliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they suffered."

George Fox wrote a letter of consolation to his suffering friends, and published a declaration against all sedi-



tion and riot, denying all wars, and proving that the Society consisted of harmless and inoffensive subjects of the king. In consequence of Margaret Fell's application and the above declaration, the king issued a proclamation, forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable. When some of the unhappy insurgents were put to death, they confessed the Quakers had no knowledge or participation in their plot, which evidence, together with other of a similar nature, caused the king to issue a declaration authorizing "the Quakers to be set at liberty without paying fees." After the Society of Friends were cleared of this pretence for punishing them, it was not long before they were again grievously persecuted by the revival of those laws made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth against Popish recusants, but now brought to bear upon a people who had never disturbed the peace of the kingdom. That it may be known what these laws were, it would perhaps be useful to insert what is needful to give the reader some knowledge of their unreasonable and unjust punishment.

In the 27th year of the reign of King Henry VIII., an act was passed against the subtraction of tithes, whereby justices of the peace could commit any one to prison, who refused to pay them, till he should find sufficient security to give due obedience to the decree or sentence of the ecclesiastical court.

By this law many persons, who refused to support the established ministers by paying tithes, were suffered to remain in prison for a long time, and some even died there, rather than uphold what they considered false teaching.

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth, an act was made for the uniformity of common prayer and church service, enacting a forfeiture of one shilling for the use of the poor, on every person who did not resort to the parish or some other church every Sunday or holiday.

The above law, however, was not strictly obeyed, neither by the papists nor those who were aiming at a more perfect reformation; and in the twenty-third year of Elizabeth, they

established a forfeiture of twenty pounds a month for like default.

Another act was passed in the twenty-ninth year of the said queen, which enabled her to seize all the goods and two-thirds of the real estate of every such offender, for the sum then due for the fines of twenty pounds per month; and every year to seize in like manner, for so long a time as they should refuse to come to church.

In the thirty-fifth year of this queen's reign, the Catholics made an effort to establish their religion, when the following act was passed.

“ If any above sixteen years of age, shall be convicted to have absented themselves above a month from church, without any lawful cause, impugned the queen's authority in causes ecclesiastical, or frequented conventicles, or persuaded others to do so, under pretence of exercise of religion, they shall be committed to prison, and there remain until they shall conform themselves, and make such open submission as hereafter shall be prescribed; and if within three months after such conviction, they refuse to conform and submit themselves, being thereunto required by a justice of the peace, they shall, in open assize or sessions, abjure the realm; and if such abjuration happen to be before a justice of the peace in the sessions, they shall make a certificate thereof at the next assize or gaol-delivery. If such an offender refuse to adjure, or going away accordingly, doth return without the queen's license, he shall be adjudged a felon, and shall not enjoy the benefit of the clergy; but if, before he is required to adjure, he makes submission, the penalties aforesaid shall not be inflicted upon him.”

Although it may be supposed this act was passed against the Papists, yet it bore directly upon Friends, and many suffered imprisonment, loss of estate and even death, through the malevolence of the magistrates. When James the First ascended the throne, the oath of allegiance, afterwards called the “test,” was introduced, and as Friends conscientiously believed that passage of Scripture, “swear not at all,”

this oath was made a continual pretence to maltreat and imprison them.

At the close of this year, Edward Burrough wrote a consolatory epistle to his fellow-laborers in the ministry of the Gospel, a few extracts of which we will insert to show how heartily he was engaged in the service of Truth.

“For these eight years and upwards the hand of the Lord hath carried us through great labors and travels in his service, and many dangers and persecutions and afflictions have attended us all this time ; and ye know that many a time hath the Lord delivered us from the hands of such as would have destroyed us ; and we have been delivered again and again out of dangers and difficulties, and the Lord hath been a present help unto us in the time of our trouble ; for the plotting of the wicked and the purpose of ungodly men, hath often been broken for our sakes, even many a time have we been delivered out of the snare that hath been laid for us, and we have seen our enemies fall before us on the right hand and on the left, even the wise in their worldly wisdom, and the foolish in their brutishness, both professors and profane, hath our God often cut short in their desires and endeavors of our destruction : and we have been wonderfully preserved unto this day ; and all this I attribute to the infinite love and power of the Lord God, who is blessed for evermore.

“Through all these things we are yet alive, and the Lord doth not fail us unto this hour, but he lives and walks in us and with us, and his testimony is with us ; even the seal of his good spirit in our hearts, that we are his sons and servants, and we are confirmed by many tokens that he is our God, and we are his people ; and the great oppression which we have met, hath not restrained us, but through it all we have grown and prospered even to this day. And therefore, brethren, let us be in hope and patience, and not be faint-hearted, as though the Lord had forgotten us, or was unmindful of us, or as though he would not perform what he had testified of by us ; for he is not a man that he should lie, nor as a man is he given to change ; but lift up your heads, for the Lord is

with us, even in our greatest tribulations and afflictions, and he will accomplish his purpose, for he is mighty to save his people, or to destroy his enemies.

“ And I know not anything that remains upon our part at this day, but that we commit ourselves into the hands of the Lord, living in the seed of God, wherein our election is sure before the world was and for ever ; and let us remember one another, and pray for one another ; and let us teach all the children of our Father to faithfulness and patience, while we have time. I say, let us walk to the glory of the Lord, keeping faith and a good conscience to our last end ; our testimony shall never die, nor our memories ever perish, when we have ceased to be ; and though we suffer now the loss of life, and all we have, yet the effects thereof will be glorious in ages to come, and our present sufferings will hasten the glory of God’s work throughout the world. Receive this as my salutation to all.”

### CHAPTER XIII.

IN the beginning of this year, the body of Oliver Cromwell, who had been buried in great state at Westminster Abbey, was disinterred, carried to Tyburn upon a cart, and hung on the gallows. The head was then severed from the trunk, and exposed on the top of Westminster Hall, while the body was buried in a pit a few feet from the gallows. It will be remembered that seven years before, during the delivery of a speech in Parliament, he made use of the following language—"I would rather be cast into my grave and buried with infamy, than give my consent to the sacrifice of one of the fundamentals of that government—the liberty of conscience:" still he permitted persecution to spread over the country without endeavoring to arrest its progress, and this fulfilment of his saying may be looked upon as a remarkable instance of the justice and fearful judgment of God.

A book was published in London, bearing the title of "Semper Idem, or a Parallel of Fanatics," and although the author concealed his name, yet it was generally believed to be a Jesuit, as many of his pages were devoted to the abuse of those Christian martyrs who suffered death during the reign of "bloody Mary." As it vilified the Society of Friends, they found a champion in Edward Burrough, who wrote an answer refuting the arguments, and telling the author "that his work indicated a desire for the return of the burning of heretics, as they called them." E. Burrough also published another book this year, called "Anti-Christ's Government justly detected," which he dedicated to all the rulers, &c., of the Christian world, and with sound arguments

proved the unlawfulness and injustice of persecution. In speaking of the punishment of heresy, he says, "Lest some may think I am opposing the duty of the civil magistrate against malefactors, I will state that I believe it only to be an ecclesiastical censure, where the heresy of a man only extends to the hurt of his soul, and against God, and not to the harm of his neighbors' body or estate. But if his heresy extend further than against Gód, and his own soul, even to outward wrongs, or evils, or violence, or injuring others, then I forbid not outward punishment to be inflicted upon the person or estate of such a man; it ought to be done, and that by the laws of man, provided for the same end; even such a man's error, in his wrong dealing, may justly and lawfully be punished according to the nature of the crime." The author also wrote of the deceit of the government of Anti-Christ, and showed who were the subjects of his kingdom.

George Fox, Jr., who was in prison, observing a design to establish popery, wrote a letter to the king giving him some good advice, and asking him to consider before he took the unholy and fearful step.

"Let no man," said he, "deceive thee by feigned words; God will not be mocked; such as thou sowest, such must thou reap. Thou canst not hide thyself from the Lord, nor deliver thyself from the strokes of his hand. O, think not men can preserve thee, though all nations promise to help thee! Yet when the Lord appears against thee, thou must fall; verily, there is a great desolation near, thy hand cannot stay it; God hath decreed that he may exalt his own kingdom. O, the day will be terrible, who may abide it? The stubble will be consumed, and the chaff shall be burnt; the ungodly shall be abased, for they cannot stand in judgment; but the seed shall be exalted. O, what shall I say, that might be for thy safety! Verily, I can say little, the Lord's decree must stand; the Lord is highly displeased, and his wrath is near to be revealed. O, that thy soul might be saved in the day of the Lord! My spirit is in suffering for thee, my soul is afflicted within me because the day of thy calamity

approaches, from which no man can deliver thee. This is the truth that must stand, and in love to thy soul it is declared, by him who must deal uprightly with all men. Though for it I suffer outwardly, yet I have a witness in my conscience, unto which I am made manifest, and peace with the Lord is my portion, which is better than an earthly crown."

This letter was delivered to the king, who read it with many sorrowful forebodings; yet his brother, the Duke of York, was highly displeased with what he termed the audacious assurance of the prisoner, and advised Charles to inflict severe punishment on the "Quaker," but the king replied, "It were better for us to mend our lives."

While George Fox, Jr., was a prisoner in Lambeth-House, he wrote a small treatise, entitled "England's sad estate and condition lamented." History truly records the fulfilment of many of the predictions in this work, and time proved to the unrighteous that the following concluding sentence of the work was not false:

"Although these things touching the Holy Remnant shall certainly be fulfilled in their season, yet before they will be fully accomplished, great will be the trials of many of the righteous, and there will be great judgments executed in thee, O Land, by Him who oftentimes maketh a fruitful land barren, because of the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

After writing this treatise, he wrote a beautiful prayer, with the language of an upright heart, which we insert without the least alteration.

"Surely it was Thou, O Lord, that gave bounds unto the sea, that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy chosen; Thou canst let forth the winds, and suffer a storm; and Thou canst make a calm when thou pleasest. Have Thou the glory of all, Thou king of saints—Thou Saviour of Israel. Thou canst do whatever thou pleasest, therefore will we trust in thy name, neither will we fear what man can do unto us, because thou wilt not forsake us; but Thou wilt plead our cause in the sight of our adversaries, and they shall know that Thou art our God, who art able to save to the

uttermost! O Lord! our Righteousness! we will praise thy name, for thy mercies endure for ever! Our eyes, O God, are unto Thee, for we have no other helper! Our faith, O Lord, standeth in Thee, who canst not forget thy people. Thou hast revealed and brought up Jacob, who wrestleth with thee and prevails as a prince, therefore must the blessing come. O Lord—the birth—the birth crieth unto thee—Thine own elect hath long been oppressed! Thou canst not deny thyself, therefore have we faith and hope, which maketh not ashamed. O Lord, how unsearchable are thy ways! Thou hast even amazed thy people, with the depth of thy wisdom; Thou alone wilt have the glory of their deliverance; and therefore hast Thou suffered these things to come to pass. O Lord, Thou art righteous in all thy judgments! Only preserve thy people, which thou hast gathered, and wilt gather unto thyself in the day of trial; that so they may sing of thy power, and magnify thy name in the land of the living.”

Among his many prison papers and epistles was a small book, which was published in London after his death. It was called, “The dread of God’s Power, uttering its voice through man, unto the heads of the Nation,” in which he exhorted the rulers to deal out justice to rich and poor alike, and said, “I must deal plainly with you in the sight of God, who hath made me a prophet to the nation. I may not flatter any of you. My life is in the hand of my Maker, and not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without his providence. He hath redeemed my soul from hell and my mind from the earth; and he hath given me his good Spirit to lead me. I am henceforth no more my own, but I am the Lord’s who hath formed me to his praise, and hath brought me forth that I may speak his all-powerful truth amongst the people. Therefore must I not fear man, neither must I be afraid of the sons of men.”

On his death-bed he exhorted his friends to live in peace and unity with one another, and let not the many obstacles in their path give rise to a rebellious spirit or cause division



in their meetings. On taking his leave of those around his bed-side, he exhorted them to keep their garments unspotted from the world, because the great day of trial was at hand; then gently falling into a quiet sleep of perfect peace, his spirit departed to the Holy One who gave it.

With the assistance of John Stubs and Benjamin Furley, George Fox wrote and published rather an unique work, called "The Battledoor, setting forth examples of about thirty languages, showing every language had its particular denomination for the singular and plural numbers;" and on every page the principles were explained by well-delineated diagrams in the shape of a battledoor. The principal object of this work was to prove to some very wise men, in their own estimation, that the plain language used by the Society of Friends was not singular, strange or incorrect. At the end of the book he says, "The Pope set up 'you,' for 'one,' in his pride, and it is pride which cannot bear 'Thou,' and 'Thee,' to one, but would have 'you,' from the author, their father in their pride, which must not but have the word 'Thou,' which was before their father, the Pope—which was God's language, and will stand when the Pope is no more." In it, J. Stubs and B. Furley wrote directions and rules for those who were studying the Oriental languages, and the book well merited the extensive patronage it received in almost every town and village in the nation. Copies of the work were presented to the king and his council; to the Archbishop of Canterbury; to the Bishop of London, and also one to each of the Universities. After reading it, the king contested that the distinction between plural and singular in regard to individuals, was correct and proper; but the Archbishop, when asked his opinion on the subject, was somewhat perplexed, and in the dilemma could neither commend nor entirely disapprove it.

George Fox went to Colchester, where he held a large meeting, and converted one of his old enemies, a priest of Coggleshall, but was forced to come back to London, on account of the return of John Perrot from Rome, who, accord-

ing to Thomas Elwood's writings, "was not unfit for the prison in which he was confined, because, during his confinement, he wrote some epistles to be printed in England, which clearly denoted an unsound mind." If he was vain and conceited before he went abroad, the report of his great sufferings gained him many affectionate and sympathizing friends, which exalted him so highly, in his own estimation, that he thought himself superior to George Fox, and endeavored to introduce innovations into the Society. He maintained that the practice of taking off the hat in public prayer was a formality—a common custom of the world, which should not be obeyed by the followers of Christ. The next extravagance he adopted, was to let his beard grow, in which he was followed by several of his partizans. The fondness for novelties, natural to some, gained him many adherents, which introduced confusion and disorder in the different meetings, and the contention was only arrested through the earnest labors of George Fox and his principal followers. Perrot went to America, where he manifested more plainly the error of his spirit and depravity of his heart, by the instability and enormity of his conduct. The following letter, written immediately after he was discharged from prison in Rome, shows the weak traits of his character.

"O Israel! the Host of the most High God! his Majesty hath fulfilled to me the vision of my head, having showed himself to be the Holy One and Just! He hath lately delivered me from the prison of the city of Rome, besides the two lambs with me, whose faces are turned towards you. For which I beseech you, in the holy spirit of meekness, to bless the name of the Lord God! Give thanks to him for his power! The God of life promote you all in the virtue of his mercy and forgiveness, and keep you in the power of his everlasting love unto the end.

Send this forward and read my life in your meetings.

JOHN."

As persecution still continued unabated, in England, Ed-

ward Burrough zealously devoted himself in opposition to this evil, and wrote a small book, entitled, "The case of free Liberty of Conscience in the exercise of Faith and Religion, presented unto the King and both Houses of Parliament." He proved, that to deprive honest and peaceable people of the liberty of conscience in the exercise of worship to God, was unjust—intrenching on God's sovereignty, and a usurpation of his authority ; advising them to consider the hypocrisy it would spread through the land, to force men to worship God according to a creed in opposition to their own consciences, and that such a course of policy would inevitably destroy the happiness of the country. He made use of the words of Dr. Taylor, a bishop in Ireland, and said : " Why are we so zealous against those we call heretics, and yet great friends with drunkards, and swearers, and fornicators, and intemperate and idle persons ? I am certain a drunkard is as contrary to the laws of Christianity as a heretic ; and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is, but I am not so sure that such an opinion is heresy."

Some malicious persons who wished to see the estates of the Friends confiscated, more than once called in question the legality of their marriage ceremony. A case of some importance was tried at the assizes at Nottingham. A member of the Society died, and leaving his wife pregnant, a relative endeavored to prove the child illegitimate, so that he might inherit the estate, and the plaintiff's counsel asserted before the court that the child was illegitimate, because the marriage of its parents was not according to law. Judge Archer, in charging the jury, said : " There was a marriage in Paradise, when Adam and Eve were made man and wife, and it was the mutual consent of the parties that made a marriage ; therefore I believe the marriage is lawful and the child the lawful heir. I remember a man who on account of a weakness of his body was forced to keep his bed, who, having a desire to marry, did declare in the presence of witnesses that he took a certain woman to be his wife, and the woman tak-

ing that man to be her husband, they lived together in the holy bonds of matrimony. This marriage was afterwards called in question, but all the bishops, after due consideration, said it was lawful and just."

The jury immediately gave a verdict in favor of the child, and declared it was legitimate.

It has been mentioned in the preceding part of this history, that in the year 1650, George Fox was a prisoner in the Derby jail, where the keeper, Thomas Sherman, treated him with the greatest inhumanity and cruelty. This man afterwards became converted to the truth, and wrote George Fox the following excellent letter :

" Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition, remembering that it was thee, who first awoke me to a sense of life and the inward principle. Sometimes I am taken with admiration, that it should come by such means—that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner so as to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me think of the jailor's conversion by the Apostles. Notwithstanding my outward losses are such, that now I am nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find, that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me an eternal crown of glory. They have taken all from me ; and now instead of keeping a prison, I expect soon to become a prisoner myself. Pray for me that my faith fail not. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition ; my kind love unto thee and all Christian friends with thee. In haste I rest

" Thine in Christ Jesus, &c."

We have mentioned the imprisonment of Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, by the Inquisition of Malta. Feeling a religious concern for the propagation of the doctrine of divine light in the darkest parts of the world, they embarked in a ship bound from London to Leghorn, where after a stormy passage they safely arrived, and during their stay endeavored to answer the end of their coming by distributing

books and explaining the doctrines of the Society of Friends to a number of persons, who from curiosity and other motives flocked around them. From thence they took passage in a Dutch ship for Alexandria, but the captain put into Malta, much against the will of his passengers. In anguish of mind Catharine Evans stood upon the deck of the ship, and looking upon the people on the walls, said in her heart, "Shall ye destroy us? If we give up to the Lord, then he is sufficient to deliver us out of your hands; but if we disobey our God, all these could not deliver us out of his hands;" and so they were resigned to whatever might await them. The next day after their arrival, being the first day of the week, they went on shore, and meeting the English consul, he asked them, "What they came there for?" They told him the object of their visit and gave him some books, which he kindly received, and inviting them to his residence, they accepted the invitation. A sister to the governor of the island, who lived in a nunnery, sent word that she desired to see them; and on hearing the message they went and discussed with the nuns, giving them books which they told them taught the only true doctrine of eternal salvation by the power of the divine light within. A priest took them to the chapel and requested them to bow down before the high altar; but abhorring idolatry, they refused, and went back to the consul's, where they continued about three months, during which time they were repeatedly examined by the inquisitors concerning their religious principles: yet possessing wisdom and integrity to an eminent degree, they answered the interrogatories in such a manner as not to give the priests the least advantage, nor commit themselves in regard to the doctrine of their belief, by complying with the requisitions of their superstitious and idolatrous worship. The inquisitors, not daring to take them from the consul's house without his consent, yet desirous to have them in their power, at length prevailed on him by flattery, menaces, and, as was afterwards discovered, by bribery, to violate his duty in withdrawing his protection so far as to suffer them to be arrested by the officers of the Inquisition.

They were confined in the consul's house, although the governor had signified his willingness for them to retain their full liberty, believing, as he did, they were honest women. The consul attempted to conceal his insincere conduct, but they imagining all was not right, hinted their suspicions in his presence, and remarked, "Pilate would willingly do the Jews a pleasure, yet wash his hands in innocency."

"Give me a sign that you are the messengers of God," said the consul, conscious of his duplicity.

"This will serve for a token," said they, "it will be well with us, but it shall not go off well with thee."

Soon after, the consul informed them that they were sent for by the Inquisition, in pursuance of orders from Rome, but he hoped they would pass their examination safely, and be set free. They were taken into custody by the officers of the Inquisition, and carried before the Lord Inquisitor, whose question was, "Whether they had changed their minds?" To which they answered, "No; and we will not change from the truth."

"What new light is it that you speak so much of?" inquired the inquisitor.

"It is no new light," they replied, "but the same the Prophets and Apostles bore testimony to."

Then they were asked, "How came this light to be lost since the primitive times?"

They answered, "It was not lost; men had it still in them, but men did not know it, because the night of apostasy overspread the nations?" They were now threatened with torture, if they did not alter their opinions, but they merely said, "The will of the Lord be done!" After this, the inquisitor and consul withdrew, and left them to be conducted to a close, dark prison, by the attending officers.

They were again and again examined, but no answer could be extorted from them, which in any manner answered the dastardly purposes of these superstitious and cruel persecutors. One day a magistrate, two friars, a man with a black rod, a scribe, and the keeper of the Inquisition, sum-

moned the prisoners to their presence, and requested them to swear; but they answered that Christ said, as well as the Apostle James, "Swear not at all!" The magistrate then asked them if they would speak the truth, and receiving a reply in the affirmative, he said, "Do you believe in the Creed?"

"We believe in God," they replied, "and in Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered at Jerusalem, under Pontius Pilate, and arose again from the dead the third day, and ascended to his Father, and shall come to judgment, to judge both quick and dead."

The minute particulars of this long examination would be extremely tedious, bearing principally on doctrinal points of the Roman Catholic religion. The consul, who had been forewarned that his connivance at their apprehension would not result to his advantage, became troubled in his mind, and with tears in his eyes, expressed his sorrow for their detention; he also offered to refund what he had received for delivering them up, but they would not listen to his entreaties, and it is said that during a long life he never enjoyed any peace or comfort.

For three or four years they patiently endured many sufferings and trials; the monks and friars beset and perplexed them with many impertinences, in order to beguile them into a conformity with their superstitions, but all their efforts were ineffectual. When others of different nations were brought prisoners before the Inquisition, and the judges and friars endeavored to make them acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church, these women would show them the errors of Popery, and declare the doctrine of truth, for which they were willing to suffer death.

They were put into a room so exceedingly hot and suffocating, that it was thought the inquisitors intended to smother them. The heat of the climate was excessive, but to this was added an artificial heat, which parched their skins, caused their hair to fall off, and they frequently fainted for want of fresh air. This inhuman treatment brought a severe

attack of sickness on Catharine Evans, who almost desired that her sorrows might be ended by death. The monks bringing a physician to visit her, she asked them, "Whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and bring a physician to keep them longer alive in torment?"

To this they replied, "it was better to keep them there than to kill them."

They wrote to the inquisitor pleading their innocence, and complaining of the hardships they sustained, adding, "if it was their blood they thirsted after, they might as well take away their lives in some other way as smother them there." The jailor took away their pen, ink and paper, and they were ordered to be separated; but at this time it was found that Catharine was covered by a general eruption from head to foot, and the physician said they must have more air; this being reported to the inquisitor he ordered the prison door to be opened six hours each day.

The manner of making converts in those days was somewhat singular; and, as a specimen, we will transcribe one of the dialogues out of the many which took place between the prisoners and those persons selected by the Pope for the purpose of conducting the inquisition. Once a friar came to Catharine, and told her, "if she would be a Catholic she should say so, otherwise they would use her badly, and she should never see Sarah again; but she should die by herself and a thousand devils should carry her soul to hell."

"Art thou the messenger of God to me?" said Catharine.

"Yes," replied the friar.

"Why, what is my sin, or where have I provoked the Lord, that he should send me such a message?"

"It is," said he, "because you will not be a Catholic."

"I deny thee and thy message too," replied Catharine, "and the spirit which speaks in thee also, for the Lord never spoke so."

He, growing angry, threatened to lay her in a pile of chains, where she could neither see sun nor moon. Trusting in Divine Providence, she said, he could not separate her



from the love of God in Jesus Christ, place her where he would. Threatening to give her to the devil, she told him she did not fear him, for the Lord was her keeper ; " the Lord is at my right hand, and the worst you can do is to kill the body ; you can touch my life no more than the devil could Job's." Bursting with rage, he told her she should never go out of that room alive ; to which she undauntedly replied, " The Lord is sufficient to deliver me ; but whether he will or not, I will not forsake the living fountain to drink at a broken cistern ; and you have no law to keep me here, but such a law as Ahab had for Naboth's vineyard." Choking with anger, the monk left the apartment, and slamming the door in her face, said " Abide there, member of the devil." She calmly replied, " The devil's members are the devil's works, and the plague of the Lord will be upon them for it !"

An Englishman who lived on the island, having heard that Sarah was in a room, the window of which was near the street, succeeded in climbing up to it, and spoke a few words to her ; but he was instantly dragged from the wall and cast into prison. Sarah immediately wrote a few lines to Catharine, informing her of the incident, and hinting that she thought the English friars were their chief persecutors. This grieved Catharine, and in her reply after her salutation to Sarah, she said, " That she might be sure that the friars were the chief actors ; but she believed the Lord would preserve the poor Englishman for his love, and I am made to seek the Lord for him with tears ; and I desire thee to send him something at least once a day, if the keeper will carry it. I am ravished with the love of God in my soul, and my beloved is the chiefest of ten thousands ; and I do not fear the face of any man, though I may feel his persecutions. I have a prospect for our safe return to England ; take heed and be not tempted." This letter afterwards fell into the hands of the English friars, and caused the prisoners considerable trouble.

A friar once asked Catharine, why she did not work ; but she answered his question by inquiring if he ever worked.

On replying that he wrote, she said, "Bring me pen, ink and paper, and I will write also." Not willing that she should write, he said, "St. Paul worked at Rome, and by knitting you can make about three half-pence a day." She told him, "If they could have that privilege among them, which Paul had at Rome, under Cæsar, a heathen prince, we would have worked and not have been chargeable to any; for he lived in his own rented house two years preaching the gospel and the doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ."

This silenced the friar, who was well known to be an idle fellow, while they were always engaged mending the garments of the prisoners, and alleviating the pains and sickness of those who suffered by the Inquisition.

They had not only withstood the efforts of the monks to beguile them from their faith, but openly avowed the truth of their doctrine, and condemned the superstitions and idolatry of the Catholic religion. In the faithful discharge of their duty they were supported by resignation to Divine will in the midst of all surrounding dangers, and with an humble confidence on the all-powerful arm of Omnipotence, they looked forward to a safe deliverance.

A captain of a ship, Francis Stuart of London, in company with an Irish friar, came to Palermo, and endeavored to procure the release of the prisoners by making application to the chief magistrate, inquisitor, friars and officers; they obtained the consent of all except the inquisitor, who told them he could not set them free, without an order from the Pope.

The next effort for their liberation was made by Daniel Baker, who feeling a concern for the propagation of religion, went to Leghorn with John Stubs, Henry Fell, and Richard Scothrop, at which place Stubs and Fell took their departure for Alexandria, and Baker and Scothrop went to Smyrna and Constantinople. They declared the word of God with becoming meekness and humility, but their inoffensive deportment was looked upon with contempt and indignation, more by the professors of Christianity, than by the Turks,

Jews and Greeks. When they arrived at Smyrna, the English consul sent them back to Zante, where Richard Scotop died. Daniel Baker went again to Leghorn, and from thence took passage for Malta, for the purpose of visiting Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, with whose sufferings he deeply sympathized, for he was engaged in the same holy cause as they. Obtaining access to the inquisitor, he said in Italian, "I am come to demand the just liberty of my friends, the two English women in prison in the Inquisition." The inquisitor asked whether he was related to them as a husband or kinsman; and whether he came from England on purpose to make this application? He answered, he came from Leghorn for that purpose! The inquisitor told him, they should stay in prison until they died, if some English merchants, or others of sufficient ability, did not give an obligation of three or four thousand dollars, that they should never return to Malta. Before Baker left the island he sent word to the English merchants, entreating them to enter into the engagement, but none appeared willing to become security for so large an amount.

The prisoners were still treated cruelly, but remained firm in their faith, to the great discomfiture of the inquisitors, who wished to make them forswear their religion and become Catholics. Once they fasted three days, and after the fast expired, Catharine composed the following hymn to God:

All praise to him that hath not put  
Nor cast me out of mind,  
Nor yet his mercy from me shut,  
As I could ever find.

Infinite Glory, laud and praise  
Be given to his name,  
Who hath made known in these our days,  
His strength and noble fame.

Oh! none is like unto the Lamb!  
Whose beauty shineth bright,  
O, glorify his holy name,  
His majesty and might.

My soul, praise thou the only God,  
A fountain pure and clear,  
Whose crystal stream spreads all abroad,  
And cleanseth far and near.

The well-springs of Eternity,  
Which are so pure and sweet,  
And do arise continually  
My Bridegroom for to meet.

My sweet and dear beloved one,  
Whose voice is more to me  
Than all the glory of the earth,  
Or treasures I can see.

He is the glory of my life,  
My joy and my delight,  
Within the bosom of his love  
He closed me day and night.

He doth preserve me clean and pure  
Within his pavill'on,  
Where I with him should be secure  
And saved from all wrong.

My soul, praise thou the Lord, I say,  
Praise him with joy and peace ;  
My spirit and mind both night and day,  
Praise him and never cease.

O, magnify his majesty,  
His fame and his renown,  
Whose dwelling is in Sion high,  
The glory of his crown.

Oh ! praises, praises to our God,  
Sing praises to our king,  
O, teach the people all abroad,  
His praises for to sing.

A Sion song of glory bright,  
That doth shine out so clear,  
O, manifest it in the sight  
Of nations far and near ;

That God may have his glory due,  
His honor and his fame,  
And all his saints may sing anew  
The praises of his name.

At last, after these women had endured the severities of their imprisonment upward of three years, George Fox and Gilbert Latey, understanding that Lord D'Aubigny could procure their liberty, applied to him to use his friendly interposition, by writing to the magistrates of Malta in their favor; which with laudable humanity he promised to do, and his mediation was so successful as to obtain their release. On receiving the letter, the lord inquisitor went to the prison, and asked them, "Whether they would return to England, to their husbands and children?" They replied, "It was their intent, in the will of God, so to do." The inquisitor told them they were no longer prisoners, and wishing them a prosperous voyage to their country, he courteously took his leave. Detained nearly three months in the consul's house before they could secure a passage from thence, Catharine wrote many letters to the rulers and inquisitors of Mala, among which we find the following message, which she wrote and delivered in the name of the Lord:

"My wrath is kindled against you, and my judgment is set up amongst you for your hard-heartedness and unbelief. I, the Lord, who desire the death of no man, but that all should return unto me and live, have cast my servants among you, contrary to their will, and without their knowledge, to go and forewarn you of the evil that was coming upon you—for all the wicked shall be brought to judgment. I will establish my beloved son upon his throne, and he shall rule in his princely power, and reign in his kingly majesty, whose right is over all; and his spiritual government shall he set up in all places, righteous rule and pure worship in spirit and in truth. There is nothing that can prevent the Lord, who saith: "If ye will not hear my servant, which speaketh my word, whom ye proved almost these four years, whose life hath been harmless and spotless, in pure innocence amongst you, then will I bring wo upon wo, judgment upon judgment, till the living shall not be able to bury the dead. My mouth hath spoken it, and my zeal will perform it; and every man's hand shall be upon his loins for

pain ; for the day of recompense is come. But if you will hear my servant, which speaketh in my name, and return to the light in your consciences which convinceth of all evil, and deny all evil thoughts, words and actions, then will I pour out my spirit upon you, and will soon cure you of all diseases and all pains."

They left Malta in the frigate *Sapphire* for Leghorn, where the merchants treated them with remarkable kindness. From thence they went to Tangiers, which was given to the king of England on his marriage with the daughter of the king of Portugal. At this time it was besieged by the Moors, yet Catharine and Sarah went into the city and exhorted the people to amend their lives, and live in righteousness ; paying a visit to the governor, he courteously received their admonitions and offered them money, but they were not willing to receive it, yet they gratefully acknowledged his kindness. From Tangiers they sailed for England, and after a stormy passage arrived in safety, rejoicing in the Lord, and returning praises for their wonderful deliverance. Daniel

Baker, after travelling over the eastern nations of 1662. Europe, returned to England, where being imprisoned by his countrymen, he wrote during his confinement a narrative of his travels.

The inimical disposition of the priests and ruling powers, and their inveterate prejudice against the Society of Friends, still continued to rage with its usual violence in England. Whilst George Fox was holding a meeting in Bristol, it was disturbed, and Alexander Parker, with whom he was travelling, was arrested by the officers and taken away. From Bristol he went to Wiltshire and Leicestershire, where, lodging at the house of a widow, he was arrested and taken before Lord Beaumont, who asking him his name, he replied, " My name is George Fox, and I am well known by that name."

" Ay," said Beaumont, " you are known all the world over."

One of the officers was ordered to search his pockets and

see if he had any letters in his possession ; but George Fox said he was not a letter carrier, and protested against being searched by military power, for it was contrary to the king's proclamation. Civil magistrates were sent for, but they refused to take him to jail, yet they secured the services of a poor man, who performed the act for a pittance, to purchase bread in order to sustain life. When they arrived at Leicester jail, George Fox inquired who was the master, the jailor or his wife, and on being informed that his wife, who was so lame as to be obliged to wear crutches, was, he went to her and made arrangements for a good apartment during his captivity. After remaining a few weeks in this place, he was brought before the judges of the sessions, who, as usual, tendered the oaths of supremacy and allegiance ; but George Fox told them, " I never took any oath in my life ; and ye know we cannot swear, because Christ and his Apostle forbids it ; and, therefore, this is but a snare, yet if ye can prove, that after Christ and his Apostle forbad swearing, they ever demanded Christians to swear, then I will take these oaths ; otherwise I am resolved to obey Christ's command, and the Apostle's exhortation."

" You must take the oath to manifest your allegiance to the king," said the judges.

To show that he was not unfaithful to the king, he told them that Col. Hacker once sent him from that town to London, a prisoner, to be tried for holding meetings and plotting, at which time King Charles decided against the magistrates who had arrested him, and he was therefore excused from swearing. Without reading the mittimus to the prisoner, a jury was called, and he was indicted for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. After a short time the jury returned with a verdict of guilty, but Lord Hastings having written a letter to the justices directing them to set him at liberty, they were compelled to obey. George Fox took this letter to Lord Beaumont, who on reading it seemed exceedingly vexed, and threatened, if he held any more meet-

ings at Swanington, to disperse them and send him to prison again.

Thomas Goodair and Benjamin Staples were imprisoned at Oxford, and when they were taken before the court, Sir William Walter on the bench, the oath of allegiance was tendered, but they answered: "We acknowledge the king as supreme ruler in temporal matters, and we are willing to obey him in all just demands. But if King Charles, or those in his authority, request anything contrary to the command of Christ, then we would rather obey Christ than either the king or those under him. It is for our consciences' sake that we cannot swear, though we could gain the whole world thereby; for Christ hath forbidden it, and said, 'Swear not at all;' and the Apostle James saith, 'Above all things swear not.'" But this answer proved of no avail, for the justice immediately passed the following sentence upon them: "Hearken to your sentence. You are out of the king's protection. All your lands, real estate and chattels, are forfeited, and shall be seized for the king's use; and you are to remain prisoners during the king's pleasure." They were taken back to prison, and although the time of their release is a mystery, yet it has been asserted by Whiting, that they were discharged at the next general jail delivery.

In the summer of this year, Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, both distinguished for their hostility against Charles the First, were brought to trial for treason. To what extent this charge was true, we do not pretend to say, but Vane was found guilty, and soon afterwards beheaded on Tower-hill. It is said he was a man of great knowledge, a member of the Long Parliament, and an opposer of Cromwell, whom he believed to be an usurper. In principles, he was a staunch republican, and his voice at one time held great influence in the administration of the government. Lambert, who was an eminent general, on being condemned to death, pleaded for mercy, and the judges commuted the sentence to perpetual imprisonment on a small isle near Plymouth, where he ended his unhappy career.



The insurrection of the Fifth-Monarchy-men was a pretence for passing an act, the effect of which was the persecution of Friends under the cloak of the dangerous tendency of their meetings. This law was styled : "An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths." After its passing, E. Burrough wrote a book, called, "The case of the people called Quakers stated," and it showed the falsehood of the accusation brought against them. Concerning their meetings of worship, he makes use of the following language :

"What judgment do our neighbors give in this case? They say they have known us to meet together in such manner, for divers years, in towns and villages, and never knew nor understood any harm or danger therein, nor ever were any way prejudiced, either in their persons or estates in our meetings. The very witness of God in all our neighbors does testify, and give judgment, that our meetings have always been peaceable and quiet; and that we come together in peace and good order and part in the same, and no person hath been harmed by such meetings; inquire of the neighborhood, and they will tell you, they believe, in their consciences, our meetings are for good, and have good effects, nor bring forth evil to any. .

"As for the manner of our meeting and sitting together, it is orderly and decent, and of good report among men; and for any doctrine that ever was there held or heard by any, none can truly accuse it to be either error, heresy or sedition; but, on the contrary, they know it beareth witness against all sin and iniquity, and tends to the turning of people from ungodliness and unrighteousness, to truth and holiness; and many can tell, this is effected by our doctrine preached in our meetings; and all can witness, that we part again in peace and good order, and in convenient time; and they can show you they are not terrified, nor the peace of the land disturbed (on our part), by our meetings, which are in God's fear, and to the glory of his name, which all men know, are according

to the law of God, and gospel, and primitive Christian example.

“ And seeing that the law against us is more put in execution than the [other laws, it doth appear, that there is more envy against us, and our peaceable religious meeting, than there is against profaneness, wickedness, drunkenness and stage-playing, and unlawful games; and such magistrates, wheresoever they are, are not excusable in the sight of God, though there is a law against us, while they put it in force, and not other really good laws against profane and ungodly persons and practices; and therefore, seeing we do not suffer, we must say, it is not only because there is a law against us, but it is also, or rather because there is enmity, wrath and wickedness in the hearts of men against us, which is the main cause of our suffering in this day.”

E. Burrough, like a faithful and diligent minister of Christ, was always ready to do his bidding; and he laboriously devoted all his time to the service of God and the Church, both in preaching and writing. It was his meat and drink to do the bidding of his heavenly Father. The sincerity of the Society, however, was put to a severe test, by the multiplied calamities which were caused by this and other similar laws; but the unwearied patience and fortitude, with which its members submitted to their sufferings, the loss of their estates, liberty and lives, is a convincing argument of their stern integrity. They were marked out as objects of unrelenting cruelty; but, with a power above mere humanity, they endured with unshaken firmness the unremitting barbarity of their enemies. Disposed, above all things, to please an overruling Providence, and having an eye to their reward in the crown of everlasting glory, they were enabled patiently to submit to whatever afflictions were permitted to befall them in their pilgrimage on earth.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE iron hand of oppression continued to rage in London with unrelenting cruelty. A short narrative was published and signed by twelve persons, showing a list of four thousand and two hundred members of the Society of Friends who were in the prisons of England at this time; also denoting the number in each county, as well as stating the cause of their imprisonment. Some of the jails were crowded with men and women—old men with grey hairs and youth—male and female, were all cast in together without the least distinction. Thus many tradesmen, shop-keepers and husbandmen, were reduced to poverty, and their families left in a starving condition. More than five hundred were in the London prison alone. At a meeting in a house known by the name of the Bull and Mouth, a person named John Trowel was killed, and his friends exposed his corpse to the inhabitants, which excited much commiseration and pity. The coroner was summoned, who empanelled a jury, and, according to the duties of the office, charged the jurors on oath to make true inquiry into the cause of the death of the deceased. They withdrew, but soon returned, refusing to give a verdict, and requested the corpse to be interred, which was done the same day. Although the coroner and jury met several times, still they refused to give a verdict, because Trowel was murdered in a crowd of riotous persons, and as the particular murderer could not be detected, the city was liable to a heavy fine, at the pleasure of the king. The friends of the deceased sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, in which they said :

“It may be supposed thou hast heard of this thing, for

it was done not in the night, but in open day; not suddenly, unawares or by mishap, but intentionally and after consideration; not in a corner, but in the streets of the city of London; all of which circumstances highly aggravate the murder to the shame and infamy of this city and its government."

This letter was published, and the person who distributed it through the streets was arrested and sent to prison by the special order of Alderman Brown. When one was placed in the hands of the king, he said: "I assure you it was not by my advice that any of your friends should be slain; ye must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law."

Street meetings were common in almost every town; indeed Friends, having very few meeting-houses, were forced to hold their meetings in the open air; so to them it was rather a matter of necessity than choice. The constables and other officers would frequently drag the preachers from their stand; but some were always ready to supply their places, if not among the men, some of the women would address the people. Even the soldiers were encouraged to deeds of cruelty by their officers, and Alderman Richard Brown, who was formerly a major-general under Cromwell, became so illiberal and persecuting that the actors upon the stage frequently ridiculed him by saying, "The devil was *brown*." A book exposing his base character was also published, and dedicated to him by this small epistle:

"Richard Brown! if thou art not sealed up already for destruction, and if repentance be not utterly hid from thy eyes, the Lord convert thee, and forgive thee all thy hard and cruel dealings towards us. We desire thy repentance rather than thy destruction; and the Lord God of heaven and earth give judgment of final determination between thee and us, that all the earth may know whether thy cause against us, or our cause, be just before him, who only is the righteous judge."

In the fifth month [May] of this year, one Philip Miller

came unto a meeting in John street, of the parish of Sepulchre's, London, and although vested with no office or legal authority, commanded the rabble who attended him to apprehend five persons whom he selected, and among them was John Crook, who before his conviction had been a justice of the peace. Some time after this, Miller came to the same place again, and struck several persons with his cane because they would not obey his commands and leave the spot; then he charged the constables to secure and take several into custody. On a first-day near the latter part of this month, Captain Reeves with some soldiers made an attack upon the Bull and Mouth meeting, and without an order or warrant commanded his soldiers to seize about forty persons. Alderman Brown, coming to the place where the prisoners were guarded, assaulted a very old man and pulled him down twice, by the brim of his hat; a soldier struck one of them on the head with a heavy pistol, and Brown sent them all to Newgate guarded by soldiers.

They were brought before the court of sessions, where the indictment was read, stating "That the prisoners, under pretence of performing religious worship otherwise than by the laws of the kingdom of England established, unlawfully and tumultuously did gather and assemble themselves together, to the great terror of his majesty's people, and to the disturbance of the peace of the king, in contempt of our said lord, the king and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending," &c. When the clerk finished reading, no witnesses appeared against the prisoners except Brown, who was one of the judges and sat upon the bench. He tendered the oath, but they refused to take it, and he sent them back to prison.

A member of the Society was once seized in a very violent and abusive manner by some soldiers, because he refused to leave a meeting, and when taken to court, he said: "My refusing to go, was because they would not or could not show any warrant for my apprehension. How should I know whether they were officers, or robbers and murderers?" To

this Alderman Brown exclaimed with some violence: "If they had dragged you through all the kennels in the street, you would have been served right for not going with them."

One of the prisoners said to this persecuting alderman: "Thou hast had many warnings and visitations in the love of God, but hast slighted them; therefore beware of being sealed up in the wrath of God." One of the jailors took a cane, and knocked down several of the prisoners, and it is reported that Brown said, "Knock them down—knock them down," which was certainly outrageous conduct on the part of a man appointed to hold the scales of justice, and to secure to every man the enjoyment of those rights which are guaranteed by the government. We will mention another instance of Brown's brutality. A prisoner was demanded to answer to his indictment, guilty, or not guilty; and not answering it directly, Brown tauntingly said: "We shall have a revelation by and by." To which the prisoner said: "How long will you oppose the innocent? How long will ye persecute the righteous seed of God?" But while he was speaking, Brown foolishly began to mock the women who sell their articles by crying them up and down the street, by exclaiming, "Aha, aha! will ye have any Wall-fleet oysters? Have you any kitchen stuff, maids?" and many other expressions that little became a justice of the peace. One of the prisoners said: "He could not for conscience sake forbear meeting with the people of God."

"Conscience, indeed," said Brown, "a dog's tail."

Alderman Adams, who was acquainted with one of the prisoners, said, "I am sorry to see you here."

"Sorry," said Brown, "what should you be sorry for?"

"Yes, I am sorry, because he is a sober man," replied Adams.

"There is not a sober man among the Quakers," said Brown.

The spectators in the court became disgusted with his conduct; and when two persons were brought to trial for

robbing a house, he told them, "They were the veriest rogues in England, except the Quakers."

But it would be almost impossible to describe the many instances of his cruelty and inhumanity: a fair picture of his unjust conduct was published, as we have already stated, and dedicated to him. At this season of bitter persecution, Francis Howgill wrote a letter of encouragement to his friends, from which we extract the following message which he delivered in the name of the living God:

"The sun shall leave its shining brightness, and cease to give light to the world; the moon shall become darkness, and give no light unto the night; the stars shall cease to know their office or place: my covenant with day, night, times and seasons, shall sooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they are entered with me, shall end or be broken. Yea, though the powers of darkness and hell combine against them, and the jaws of death open to receive them, yet I will deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies, as I did in Jacob, and scatter them as I did in Israel in the days of old. I will take their enemies—I will hurl them hither and thither, as stones hurled in a sling; and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto me, shall never be rooted out, but shall live through ages, as a cloud of witnesses in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth; yea, I have brought them forth, and they are mine. I will nourish them, and carry them as on eagles' wings; and though clouds gather against them, I will make my way through them; though darkness gather together, and tempests gender, still I will scatter them as with an east wind; and nations shall know they are my inheritance, and they shall know I am the living God, who will plead their cause with all who rise up in opposition against them.

"These words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true! Blessed are they that hear and believe unto the end; and because of them no strength was left in me for awhile, but at last my heart was filled with joy, even as when the Ark of

God was brought from the house of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Israel shouted for joy.

In Southwark, the spirit of persecution raged with as much violence as in London. Numbers had been taken from religious meetings and committed to prison; and after remaining in the White Lion prison about nine weeks, some of them were brought to trial, before the Court of Sessions, Judge Richard Onslow presiding. As we have not yet inserted a regular Indictment, we give the following, so that the reader may see and judge in what manner these dignitaries represented the quiet and peaceable meetings of the humble Society of Friends.

“ The jurors, from our Lord the King, do present upon their oath, that Arthur Fisher, late of the parish of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark, in the county of Surrey, yeoman; Nathaniel Robinson, of the same, yeoman; John Chandler, of the same, yeoman; and others, being wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, and disloyal persons, and above the age of sixteen years, who, on the twenty-ninth day of June, in the year of the reign of our Lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, &c., the fourteenth, have obstinately refused, and every one of them hath obstinately refused to repair unto some church, chapel, or usual place of Common Prayer, according to the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in the like case set forth and provided (after forty days next after the end of the session of Parliament, begun and holden at Westminster, on the twenty-ninth day of February, in the year of our Lady Elizabeth, late Queen of England, the thirty-fifth, and there continued, until the dissolution of the same, being the tenth day of April, in the thirty-fifth year aforesaid); to wit, on the third day of August, in the year of the reign of the said Charles, King of England, the fourteenth aforesaid, in the parish of St. Olave aforesaid, in the borough of Southwark aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, of themselves, did voluntarily and unlawfully join in, and were present at an unlawful assemblage, conventicle, and meeting, at



the said parish of St. Olave, in the county aforesaid, under color and pretence of the exercise of religion, against the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in contempt of our said Lord the King that now is, his laws, and to the evil and dangerous example of all others in the like case, offending against the peace of our said Lord the King, that now is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute in this same case set forth and provided."

After this indictment was read, the prisoners expressed a wish to be tried by the late Act of Parliament against conventicles; the reason they assigned was, because the Act of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth was passed in days of ignorance, when the people were just beginning to throw off the shackles of Popery. The clerk required them to plead guilty or not guilty, but being rather dilatory in returning an answer, they were sent back to prison. The rest, being twenty-two in number, pleaded not guilty to the indictment. When the jury were called, all took their seats save one, to whom exception was made, on account of the envy and malice he had heretofore displayed towards Friends. The prisoners bid the jury take heed how they sported with holy things, and that things concerning the conscience were holy. It was not true, that they were wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, but they had always endeavored to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world, for the truth of which they appealed to their neighbors; and they were charged with not coming to hear the Common Prayer, when they could not attend because the service-book was not published until after they were arrested. After two witnesses were examined, the jury retired, but soon returned with a verdict of guilty on some of the counts, but not guilty on others. This decision did not please the judge, and he ordered the jury to leave the court again, and prevailed on them to return a verdict of guilty to the whole of the indictment. When this unjust trial was concluded, Judge Onslow pronounced the following sentence :

" The prisoners must return to prison again, and lie there

three months without bail ; and if you do not make submission according to the law, either at, or before the end of the aforesaid three months, you shall adjure the realm ; but in case you refuse to make adjuration, or after adjuration made, you should forbear to depart from the realm within the time limited, or if you return again without license, you shall be proceeded against as felons."

The judge said, " There is a way to escape the penalty."

" How ?" asked one of the prisoners.

" Come to Common Prayer, and do not attend Quaker meetings," replied the judge.

The prisoner gave reasons why he could not comply with that, even to escape persecution.

" Then you must adjure the land," said the judge.

" Adjure," returned the prisoner, " is to forswear."

" And ye cannot swear at all," said one of the justices, laughing as if it were a jest.

How long they were kept prisoners is not known, but generally believed they were not released until the king's proclamation opened their prison doors.

John Crook and others, who were taken out of a meeting in John Street, London, were brought before the justices at Hick's Hall, and although they pointed out the illegality of their apprehension without warrant, yet they were committed to prison. According to the late act against Friends, an indictment was drawn up against them, after which they were removed to Newgate, in order to have their trial at Old Bailey. On the twenty-fifth of the sixth month [June], John Crook (as the indictment reads), gentleman, Isaac Grey, physician, and John Bolton, goldsmith, were brought before the Lord Mayor of London, Chief Justice Forster, and other judges and justices, to answer the charges preferred against them. John Crook was first called to the bar, and without reading his indictment, the judge asked him ;—" When did you take the oath of allegiance ?"

" After remaining six weeks in prison," said Crook, " am I called on to accuse myself? *Nemo debet seipsum prodere.*

I am an Englishman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken or imprisoned, nor my freehold seized, nor called in question, nor put to answer, but according to the law of the land. I stand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do desire that my accuser may be brought forth, and then I will answer to my charge, if I be guilty of any."

"You are here demanded," replied the judge, "to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, you shall be heard about the other, for we have power to tender it to any man."

"Not to me upon this occasion and in this place," said the prisoner, "for I am brought here as an offender and not to be made an offender, nor can you oblige me to criminate myself. I challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Englishman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former, the latter is secured. This is proved by the twenty-ninth Chapter of Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right mentioned in the third of Car. I., and in other good laws; therefore, in claiming the benefit of them, I demand no more than my right. And you who are judges on the bench, ought to be my counsel and not my accusers, and instruct me in the benefits of the laws, that I may not, through ignorance, lose any advantage, which the laws of my country afford me as an Englishman."

"We sit here to do justice," exclaimed the judge, "and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law and not you us; therefore, sirrah, you are too bold."

"Sirrah is not a word for a judge," continued Crook; "I am no felon, neither ought you to menace the prisoner at the bar. For I stand here arraigned for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children, and outward estate; therefore I have a right to be fully heard in my defence according to law; and I hope the court will bear with me, if I take the freedom to assert my liberty as an Englishman and a Christian; if I speak loud, it is from zeal for the truth; and my innocence makes me bold. Let me see my accuser, that

I may know from what cause I have been six weeks imprisoned, and do not at this time make me accuse myself by asking me questions. Let my accuser come forth, or else do me justice in discharging me by proclamation."

"We take no notice of you, otherwise than as an evil-disposed person," replied Judge Twisden, "because you have refused to take the oath."

"I explained before why I could not take the oath," said the prisoner, "I am a lover of justice, and in my life have endeavored to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man."

The court was here interrupted by a general cry of "Take him out—take him out;" and as the officers were leading him back to prison, he said: "Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do justice! Take heed of oppressing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will assuredly plead their cause; and for my part, I have no desire that one hair of your head should be hurt, but be guided by the wisdom of God!"

The next day they were again brought into court, and demanded to take the oath; but still insisting on the plea that they ought to be first tried and convicted upon the offence, if there was any, which caused them to suffer imprisonment, the judge became provoked, and used language which did not well comport with his station and office. In the afternoon of the same day, a new indictment was drawn up, charging them with refusing to take the oath of allegiance, to which they were required to plead guilty or not guilty. Not being satisfied whether they ought to plead to a created offence, and thereby acquiesce in the introduction of a precedent in a court of judicature, they made some objection. But being informed their pleading would not deprive them of the benefit of the law, they said the indictment was false, and they were not guilty. The jury who were present, and the witnesses of the previous proceedings, were discharged, and on the following day a new jury was em-

panelled. In this jury were several soldiers, some of whom had been actually concerned in using illegal violence to the Friends, by dragging them from their meetings and houses ; so that they could expect no milder judgment from the jury than they had received at the hands of the judges. When the indictment was read, they moved to have the trial postponed until the next Quarter Session, in order to allow them time to get advice from counsel, and prepare their defence. To this reasonable request the judge replied : " We have given you time enough, and you shall have no more, for we will try you this time ; therefore swear the jury." The prisoners remonstrated against swearing the jury till this point was properly discussed, and they were heard in their own defence. This occasioned great confusion in the court ; some of the spectators wanted them taken out, and others cried, " Let them alone." In this tumult they supposed the evidence was given against them, and complaining of such illegal treatment, the executioner endeavored to gag Crook and others.

" Will you give us leave to speak ?" said Crook. " We except against some of the jury, as being our enemies, and of those who by force commanded us to be dragged from our meetings and took us to prison without a warrant or legal process ; and must these be our judges ? We except against them."

" It is too late now," replied the judge ; " you should have done it before they were sworn jurymen. The jury will now retire, and your duty is to decide whether these prisoners have refused to take the oath, which charge being fully established against them, you can form your opinion without leaving the box."

The prisoners demanded the privilege to make their defence before the jury brought in their verdict, but they were refused, the chief judge at the same time remarking, " that if the Quakers had liberty to speak they would make themselves famous and their judges odious," and instead of guarding their rights as freemen, they had recourse to their

usual exclamation, "stop their mouths, executioner!" which he did with a dirty cloth. Yet when the foreman of the jury was ordered to give in the verdict, John Crook took the liberty to say a few words before the trial ended.

He said, "Let me have liberty first to speak—it is but a few words, and I hope I shall do it with what brevity and pertinency my understanding will give me leave, and the occasion requires; it is to the point of these two heads, matter of law and matter of conscience. To matters of law, I have this to say, the statute by which you proceed against us, was made against papists, occasioned by the gunpowder plot, and is entitled, 'An act for the better discovery and suppressing of popish recusants;' but they have liberty and we are destroyed. [Interrupted by the judges, and great disturbance in the court.] As to conscience, I have something to say—it is a tender thing, and we know what it is to offend it; and, therefore, we dare not break Christ's command, who said, 'Swear not at all;' and, also, the words of the Apostle James, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not.'" Here he was interrupted by the executioner's choking his utterance by the gag. The judge commanded the jury to deliver their verdict, which was done according to his orders, and of course it was against them. Silence being proclaimed, the Recorder read the following sentence:

"The jury for the king do find that John Crook, John Bolton and Isaac Grey, are guilty of refusing to take the oath of allegiance, for which you do incur a *premunire*, which is the forfeiture of all your real estates during life, and your personal estates for ever, and you to be out of the king's protection, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure. And this is your sentence." John Crook replied, "We are still under God's protection."

The prisoners were sent to Newgate, where J. Crook wrote a full account of the whole trial, which was published, together with the indictment, and he exhibited the mockery of justice, so that the king might see how his subjects were treated by the authorities. Being at one time a justice of the peace,

he possessed some knowledge of the laws, and succeeded in exposing their illegal and arbitrary proceedings to the whole nation. This trial demonstrates, beyond the power of all palliation, that the government, at this era, was as arbitrary to the dissenters, and particularly to Friends, as any absolute government. We are here presented with an instance of natural born subjects, who violated no duty, committed no crime, contrived no sedition, nor disturbed the government in any way, deprived of those privileges guaranteed by the Magna Charta and the Petition of Rights. And not only this, but denied the liberty of speaking in their own defence when on trial for life, liberty and property ; just exceptions to jurymen evaded by artifice ; for the only cause that they worshipped God according to the dictates of conscience. All the prisoners' estates were confiscated, but on the twenty-third of the seventh month [July], they were released, it is supposed, by an order from the king ;—yet, two days after, John Bolton and Isaac Grey were again arrested, cast into prison and we have no account when they were discharged, if ever. John Crook would also probably have been arrested, but he left London immediately after his release.

## CHAPTER XV.

ALDERMAN BROWN still continued his persecution against the Society, as the following instance fully proves. A mender of old shoes, or cobbler, who belonged to the Society of Friends, was desired by a laboring man, on the night of the seventh day of the week, to mend a pair of shoes, so that he might have them again in the morning, as he had no others to wear. The cobbler, to accommodate the man, sat up till after midnight working at his shoes; but not getting them finished, he retired to bed, and rising early in the morning, he went to work again as privately as he possibly could in his chamber; but an envious neighbor informed against him for working on Sunday, for which he was arrested, taken before Alderman Brown, and committed to Bridewell. He was condemned to hard labor; but refusing to beat hemp, because he did not deserve the punishment, he was cruelly and inhumanly whipped.

A number of prisoners at Newgate were crowded into one room, which soon became unhealthy, causing much sickness and one death. Sir William Turner, one of the sheriffs of London, gaining information of the subject, ordered they should be returned to Bridewell, where they had been before. Among these prisoners was a lazy, idle fellow, who dressed as a Friend, acted like one, and contrived to be placed in the same room with them, so that he might live without working. He was an enormous eater, and often many of the modest would be forced to go without a meal, to gratify his rapacious appetite. At last he became too burdensome; and one of the prisoners, Thomas Elwood, meeting the sheriff, said: "That man," pointing to the



drone, "is not only none of our company, but an idle, dissolute fellow, who hath thrust himself among our friends, that he might live upon them; therefore I desire we may not be troubled with him."

The sheriff smiled on seeing the drone standing with his hat on, looking as demurely as he could, in order that he might escape detection from the officers: walking towards him, he said, "How came you to be in prison?"

"I was taken at a meeting," he replied.

"But what business had you there?" demanded the sheriff.

"I went to hear," was the answer.

"Ay, you went upon a worse design, it seems," replied the sheriff, "but I will disappoint you; for I intend to change your company, and place you with your right companions."

He then ordered the turnkey to place the man among the felons, and not let him trouble the Friends any more. Not a little astonished, he heard his doom, and very quickly parted with his Quakership; for off went his hat, and bowing several times to the sheriff, he said: "Good, your worship, have pity on me, and set me at liberty."

"No, no," said the sheriff, "I will not so far disappoint you; since you wanted to live in a prison, I will let you remain."

The turnkey took him away and the pretender was rewarded according to his deeds, and Friends were never again troubled with him.

It now becomes our painful duty to record the death of two faithful and exemplary ministers of the Society, Richard Hubberthorn and Edward Burrough. The simplicity of their lives, their ministerial labors, their active exertions in behalf of their suffering friends, and their remarkable qualifications for doing good, gave them a high place among the most eminent members of the Society, and made their loss regretted throughout the whole kingdom.

In June, Richard Hubberthorn was dragged from the

meeting at the Bull and Mouth, and taken before Alderman Brown, who with his own hands abused him violently and committed him to Newgate. The prison was so densely thronged, that he grew sick, and in two months the messenger of death relieved his weary spirit. Two days before he died, some of his friends desired to know if he felt satisfied with his lot. He said, "There is no need of disputing matters, for I know the ground of my salvation, and am for ever satisfied in my peace with the Lord. That Faith which hath wrought my salvation, I well know, and my conscience is at rest." In the morning before he died, he said to Sarah Blackberry, who was by his side, "Do not seek to hold me, for it is too strait for me, and out of this straitness I must go; for I am wound unto largeness, and am to be lifted up on high far above all." As his life had been spent in acts of righteousness and the pursuits of peace, his departure from the world exhibited the happy effects of such a course of conduct; the peaceful tenor of his conscience, stripping death of all its terrors, he was in his last moments supported in the full assurance of that faith which secured a crown of everlasting glory in the world to come.

He was a man of low stature, an infirm constitution and a weak voice; so that a knowledge of his real worth and character was reserved for an intimate acquaintance with him. He possessed much meekness, humility, patience and brotherly kindness; was distinguished for his equanimity of mind, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity; clear in judgment and quick in apprehension, he knew the season when to speak and when to be silent. Notwithstanding the weakness of his voice, he was a powerful, able and successful minister of the gospel. Travelling in different parts of the nation for nearly nine years, he convinced a number of the Truth, whose after lives bore testimony to the power and efficacy of his ministry.

The death of Edward Burrough is an epoch in the history of the Society of Friends. For several years he had been in the city of London, where his ministry was blessed with many

conversions. He had an affectionate regard for the inhabitants of that city, and when persecution was raging violently, he repeatedly said to his bosom friend, Francis Howgill: "I can freely go to that city, and lay down my life for a testimony to that truth, which I have declared through the spirit and power of God." During this year he was on a visit to his friends in Bristol, and on taking leave of them, he said: "I do not know whether I shall see your faces any more, and therefore I exhort you to faithfulness and steadfastness in that wherein you have found rest to your souls. I am now going to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst the Friends who are persecuted in that place."

Not long after arriving in London, he attended the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where he was violently pulled down by soldiers, and taken before Alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. In a few weeks he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine, which amounted to perpetual imprisonment unless released by the king. Immured in the same prison with over a hundred of his friends, many of them took sick and died, and he was among the number. And though a special order from the king was sent to the sheriffs of London for his release, yet such was the aversion to all humanity, and so implacable the enmity of some of the city magistrates, especially Brown, that they exerted themselves to prevent the execution of this order, and found means to effect it. By his detention in prison, his sickness increased, and threatened his approaching dissolution. During his illness, he made the following appeal:

"I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will; I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, O Lord, open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee." Again he said, "There is no iniquity lies at

my door ; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel justifies me." At another time in prayer, he said, " Thou hast loved me when I was in the womb, and I have loved thee from my cradle—from my youth until this day, and have served thee faithfully in my generation." He counselled his friends to live in love and peace, and love one another ; he prayed for his enemies and persecutors, and asked the Lord to forgive Richard Brown for all the misery he had occasioned, if it were just he should be forgiven. Being sensible of the approach of death, he said, " Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God in my generation ; and that spirit which hath lived and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands." The morning before his departure, he said, " Now my soul and spirit is centred into its own being with God, and this form of person must return from whence it was taken." He soon expired ; changed the corruptible body for an incorruptible one ; although only twenty-eight years old at his death, he had zealously preached the gospel for ten years, and, from his childhood, lived a life of righteousness.

Edward Burrough was a man of strong natural talent ; and, however uneducated he might have been, his mind was prepared for the ministry by that best instructor, the Spirit of Truth, which gradually directed him to the blessed experience of holiness, and he soon became qualified, like the wise scribe, out of the treasury of his own experience, to bring forth things new and old. He was one of the most eloquent ministers among the primitive Friends ; he always spoke the feeling and animated language of his heart, which reached the divine witness of his hearers, turning many from darkness to light, and from sin to righteousness.

After his death, Francis Howgill wrote an article bearing testimony to his excellent qualities, and mourning the loss of one who was so well calculated to work good for the degenerated. From this we will extract the following :

" Oh ! Edward Burrough ! I cannot but mourn for thee, yet not as one without Hope or Faith, knowing and having

a perfect testimony of thy well-being in my heart, by the spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did, for a worse man than thee, even for Abner, when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause, though he was a valiant man? David lamented over Abner, and said, Died Abner as a fool dieth (oh! nay, he was betrayed of his life)? Even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppressor, whose habitations are full of cruelty. Oh! my soul, come not thou within their secret, for thy blood shall be required at the hands of them who thirsted after thy life; and it shall cry as Abel's, who was in the faith; even so wert thou. It shall weigh as a ponderous millstone upon their necks, and shall crush them asunder, and be as a worm that gnaweth and shall not die. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow. Shall I not say as David did of Saul and Jonathan, when they were slain at Mount Gilboa—The beauty of Israel is slain in high places? even so wast thou cast into prisons, with many more who are precious in the eyes of the Lord. And surely precious wert thou to me, oh! dear Edward—I am distressed for thee, my brother—very kind hast thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, passing the love of woman. Oh! thou whose bow never turned back, nor sword empty from the blood of the slain, from the slaughter of the mighty; who made nations and multitudes shake with the word of Life, and was dreadful to the enemies of the Lord; for thou didst cut like a razor, and yet to the seed of God brought forth; thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb. Thou shalt be recorded amongst the valiants of Israel, who attained to the first degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and wast worthy of double honor, because of thy works.

“Oh! how certain a sound did thy trumpet give! And how great an alarm didst thou give in thy day, that made the host of the uncircumcised greatly distressed! What man

so valiant, though as Goliath of Gath, would not thy valor have encountered with, while many despised thy youth.

“Oh! thou prophet of the Lord! Thou shalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb’s book of life, among the Lord’s worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witness for thee from the beginning, till at last thou art found worthy to stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion, the hill of God. I have often seen thee when thy heart was tuned as a harp, praising the Lord, and sending forth his great salvation. But now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death, and from thy outward enemies, who hated thee because of the Love that dwelt in thee, and remainest at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleasure for evermore in the everlasting light, which thou hast often testified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghost; and art at rest in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of Holiness. Yet thy life and thy spirit I feel at present, have unity with it, and in it, beyond all created and visible things which are subject to mutation and change; and thy life shall enter into others, to testify unto the same truth, which is from everlasting to everlasting; for God hath raised, and will raise up, children unto Abraham; His power is Almighty, great in his people in the midst of their enemies.”

William Ames also died at the latter end of this year at Amsterdam. He was arrested at a meeting in London, and committed to Bridewell by Alderman Brown, where having been kept at hard labor, and suffered much ill-treatment, he grew sick, and being an inhabitant of Amsterdam, they were forced to discharge him. In his youth he was of a cheerful disposition, and fond of gay company; but convicted of the folly of misspending his precious time, he became diligent in religious exercises, read the Scriptures, and attended the services performed in the churches. Yet he was not satisfied in his mind that he was worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and whilst in Ireland, a mili-

tary officer under Cromwell, he went to hear Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough preach the word of truth, and on becoming convinced of their doctrine, he connected himself with the Society of Friends. Advancing in godliness, he soon became a zealous preacher and travelled in the work of the ministry, not only in England, but in Holland and Germany, where he convinced many, especially in the Palatine.

When George Fox left London, where he had spent some time, he went about the beginning of this year 1666. to Norwich, and from thence to Cambridgeshire, where he was informed of the death of his co-laborer, Edward Burrough. Sensible of the grief his friends would sustain on account of this great loss, he wrote them the following lines :

“ Friends ! be still and quiet in your own conditions, and settled in the seed of God, that doth not change ; that in that ye may feel dear Edward Burrough among you in the seed, in which, and by which, he begat you to God, with whom he is ; and that in the seed ye may all see and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the Life ; and to enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is invisible.”

After travelling through several places, George Fox again came to London, where having visited the numerous meetings of Friends, he went into the county of Kent with Thomas Briggs, and held a meeting at Tenterden. When the meeting was dispersing, a company of soldiers took George Fox and Briggs before their captain, who said : “ You will have to go with me to town.” When they arrived, the prisoners were taken to the jailor’s house, where the mayor, the captain and a lieutenant, who were justices, assembled to make the necessary examination. The mayor said to George Fox, “ Did you come here to make a disturbance ?”

“ I did not come to make a disturbance,” said George Fox, “ neither has any been made.”

“ There is a law against all Quaker meetings,” said the captain.

“ I know of no such law,” replied the prisoner. They pro-

duced the act made against the Society of Friends and others, and George Fox said: "That law was made against such as were a terror to the king's subjects, and were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government; and therefore, it is not against my friends, for they hold Truth, and their principles are not dangerous to the government, neither do their members make disturbances at their meetings."

They told him he was an enemy to the king, which assertion he denied; at the same time telling them that, during the battle of Worcester, he was cast into Derby prison, because he would not take up arms against the king, and afterwards sent to London by Colonel Hacker, as a plotter for the restoration of Charles, but released by the Protector, Oliver Cromwell.

"Were you imprisoned during the insurrection?" inquired the judges.

"Yes," replied George Fox, "but I was set at liberty by the king's command."

After some consultation, the captain requested the prisoners to rise, and said: "Ye shall see we are civil to you, for it is the mayor's pleasure that you should all be set at liberty."

George Fox said their civility was noble; and so, in company with his friend, he parted with his humane and reasonable judges.

At Cornwall, they found two men, Joseph Hellen and George Bewey, who, though they possessed the Truth, yet suffered themselves to be led astray by Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, who ensnared them by asking: "Who made the Devil—did not God?" This silly question, which they were unable to answer, they propounded to George Fox, who answered: "No, for all that God made was good, and was blest, but so was not the devil. He was called a serpent, before he was called a devil and an adversary; and afterwards he was called a dragon, because he was a destroyer. The Devil abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth, he became a devil. Now, there is no promise



of God to the devil, that ever he should return unto truth again ; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is, that the seed of woman shalt bruise the serpent's head, and break his power and strength to pieces." This answer gave satisfaction to his friends, yet Hellen was so fully imbued with false principles, that he was disowned by them ; but Bewey soon recovered his standing in the Society by deep and sincere repentance.

At a meeting in Helstone near Falmouth, George Fox gave a history of the state of the Church in the primitive times, and the state of the Church in the wilderness, and also the condition of the false church that had arisen since that period. He next showed that the everlasting gospel was now preached again, over the head of the beast, Anti-christ, and the false prophets, that were raised since the Apostles' days ; and that now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light.

Passing on, George Fox at last arrived at Land's End, where he found an assembly of Friends listening to Nicholas Jose, whom he had convinced whilst on a visit to this place some three years before. A sad judgment fell upon one Colonel Robinson, about this time, which is well worth relating. When King Charles ascended the throne, Robinson secured the appointment of a justice of the peace, and became a great persecutor of Friends, many of whom he sent to prison ; and hearing they were allowed some slight liberty by the jailor, he made complaint to the judge of the Assizes, who fined the jailor one hundred marks. Not long after the assizes, Robinson sent to a neighboring justice to know if he would go a *fanatic-hunting*, meaning the disturbance of Friends' meetings. On the day they intended to have the *hunt*, Robinson sent his servant round by the road with his horses, while he intended to walk across the fields and meet them at an appointed place. Passing through one of the fields, where he kept a bull, he commenced playing with the animal as usual ; but it ran furiously at him, and before he could defend himself, gored

him in the most horrible manner. One of the maid-servants hearing her master cry out, came running into the field and took the bull by the horn in order to pull him off; but, putting her gently aside, it only seemed disposed to harm the master. Numbers collected around, but the bull could not be beaten off, until they brought mastiff dogs and set on him. Robinson's sister came to him, saying, "Alack! brother, what a heavy judgment is this?" He replied, "Ah! it is a heavy judgment indeed; pray let the bull be killed and the flesh given to the poor." They took him home, but the severity of his wounds soon caused his death; and this was the issue of a sinful intent to go fanatic-hunting.

We meet with few instances of sufferings in the metropolis during this year, in comparison to those related in the last; yet Friends did not remain quite unmolested, for Sir John Robinson succeeding Alderman Brown in the mayoralty, who was nearly his equal in hating Friends, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull and Mouth meeting-house to prevent any person from going in. As they could not enter, a number collected as near the door as possible and held a meeting; but every one who attempted to preach, was dragged to prison. One first-day the mayor with his officers and sheriff coming to the place of meeting, commanded the people to disperse; but they not feeling disposed to obey, he told his officers to strike; who immediately with their canes and sticks, as usual, dealt their blows on all sides, unmercifully beating the heads both of men and women. The mayor himself also struck several, and spurring on his horse to ride over them, the horse being frightened, reared on his hind legs, throwing his rider backward into the kennel; and when helped up again, he would have repeated his abuses, had not the sheriffs, who were more moderate, and ashamed of his actions, persuaded him to desist.

During this year the people of Colchester, in Essex, suffered a serious and painful persecution. William Moore, then mayor, dispersed many meetings, and cast many into prison. This method of destroying their assemblies proving

ineffectual, a party of the county troops went to one of the meetings, where having broken the windows and seats, they beat many with clubs, and carried others to prison. After this, they were kept out of the meeting-house, but, undaunted, they met in the street, sometimes in the cold and rain, not daring to decline their duty for these inconveniences. Thus they continued meeting constantly twice a week, until a troop of horse rode furiously among them, and without mercy beat and bruised both old and young: many were seriously injured, and some were arrested and cast into prison. On the third of the first month [January], many Friends having met at the usual place, the soldiers made another attack, knocking down several, and abusing others in the most shameful manner. The wife of Solomon Fromantle, a merchant, seeing a trooper unmercifully beating her husband, endeavored to protect him from the blows; but the soldier struck her several times, inflicting dangerous bruises. Edward Grant, father of Fromantle's wife, about seventy years of age, was knocked down, and survived the blow but a few days. After this, finding the constancy of the sufferers invincible, they intermitted their former violence for a few weeks, but the mayor and recorder ordered the persecution to be re-continued.

## CHAPTER XVI.

WHILE the king and queen were travelling in the western counties, a rumor was set on foot of a conspiracy being formed in the north, among the republicans and separatists, for the purpose of seizing several towns, and raising a general insurrection. At this time, George Fox was travelling in Yorkshire, where he first heard of this plot; and in order to exculpate himself and friends, and preserve them steadfast in their peaceable principles, he wrote a testimony against all plots and conspiracies; admonishing his friends to be circumspect in their language and actions, and not to interfere with any political party, or take part in any commotion. Copies of this article were distributed in the northern counties, and one was also sent to the king and council; yet notwithstanding these precautions, he was soon subjected to a very unjust and rigorous persecution and imprisonment. The authorities seem to have taken uncommon pains to fix a suspicion on George Fox, as being concerned in this plot, for when he left Yorkshire, and passed through the counties of Durham, Cumberland and Westmoreland, several attempts were made to arrest him, but they failed in accomplishing their purpose. In passing through Cumberland, he was informed, that the magistrates had offered a crown or a noble per day to any of the peace officers that should apprehend any or all of the Quaker preachers; but at the time of his journey, these officers were attending court in order to receive their wages, and without being molested he crossed into Westmoreland, in which county a justice, named Fleming, had offered five pounds to any man who would arrest him and deliver him into the hands of the justice. Travelling towards Lancashire,

he came to Swarthmore, where he heard that Colonel Kirby had sent his lieutenant to search his trunk and person ; the next day, however, George Fox went to Kirby Hall, the residence of the colonel, and said ; " I am come to visit thee, understanding that thou wouldst have seen me ; and now I would fain know what thou hast to say to me, and whether thou hast anything against me ?"

The colonel did not expect such a verdict, as he was then about starting for London to attend Parliament ; but said before all the company, " As I am a gentleman, I have nothing against you ; but Mrs. Fell must not keep great meetings at her house, for they assemble against the law."

" The act does not take hold on us," replied George Fox, " but on such men as meet to plot, and contrive, and raise insurrections against the king ; and we are none of those, for we are a peaceable people."

After a short conversation, Colonel Kirby took him by the hand and said, " I have nothing against you ;" and the company all said George Fox was an upright and deserving man.

A short time after, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker-Hall, the seat of Justice Preston, where they granted a warrant to apprehend him. Although they deemed this a secret transaction, yet he received intelligence of it soon enough to have escaped, had he thought proper so to do. Still, he would give no advantage to his adversaries by allowing them to interpret or represent his retreat as a proof of guilt, and thus form wrong conclusions, which would lead them to treat his friends with additional cruelty. After calmly weighing these considerations, he determined quietly to abide the consequence, and was apprehended the following day, and brought before Justices Rawlinson, Preston and Sir George Middleton. Then they brought Thomas Atkinson, one of his friends, as a witness against him, who testified that he told one Knipe, " That he had written against the plotters, and knocked

them down." From these words, however, they could not make much capital.

"Come," said Preston, "we will examine him in higher matters."

"You deny God, and the Church, and the Faith," said Sir George Middleton.

"No," replied George Fox, "I own God, and the true Church and the true faith; but what Church dost thou own?"

It was generally believed that Middleton was a Papist, and he could not reply to this question; for, instead of answering it, he said, "You are a rebel and a traitor."

"Whom do you call a rebel and a traitor?" demanded George Fox.

For a moment Middleton was silent, but at last he said, "I spoke to you." George Fox quietly arose from his seat, and with great earnestness said, "I have suffered more than twenty such as thou, or any present. I was imprisoned for six months in the Derby dungeon, and inhumanly suffered because I refused to take up arms against the king before the battle of Worcester. I was also sent by Colonel Hacker a prisoner to Oliver Cromwell, as a conspirator against him. Ye talk of a king, but how did you all stand in the days of Cromwell, and what did ye do then for the king? I have more love to him, for his eternal good and welfare, than any of you have."

"Have you heard of the plot?" asked one of the justices.

"Yes," was the reply; "the high sheriff of Yorkshire told Dr. Hodgson of the circumstance, and from him I gained my information."

"Why did you write against it, if you did not know some who were connected with it?" inquired Preston.

"My reason was this," replied the good man, "you are always so illiberal as to make no discrimination between the innocent and guilty, wherever Friends are concerned; and for fear some of the weak-minded would be led astray, I wrote an article on the subject, and sent copies into West-

moreland, Cumberland, Bishopric, and Yorkshire—you also have a copy in your possession, as well as the king and his council.”

“ O, you have great power,” tauntingly exclaimed one of the justices.

“ Yes,” he manfully replied, “ I have power to write against all conspirators.”

As the last resort to ensnare an innocent man, Middleton brought forth the Oath of Allegiance, and Supremacy.

But George Fox asked him, “ Hast thou, who art a swearer, ever taken the oath of allegiance ?”

This oath was written in such a manner as to reject the Pope’s power in England, and Middleton being a papist, could not take it, therefore said George Fox, “ How do you expect us to receive it, when according to Christ and his Apostle, we cannot swear at all ?” They consulted together about sending him to jail, but as they did not all agree, he was only ordered to appear at the Court of Sessions, which he pledged himself to do.

In consequence of his engagement, he appeared at the sessions at Lancaster, where the justices asked him what he knew of the plot or insurrection. He told them he heard it in Yorkshire from a friend, who received his information from the high sheriff. They then asked him, whether he had declared it to the magistrates. He informed them of the afore-mentioned paper, which he had sent abroad, and also to them, that he might remove all suspicion from their minds.

“ You certainly know there is an act against your meetings,” said one of the judges.

“ I know there is an act against such as meet contrary to the king’s good, who are his enemies, and hold principles dangerous to the country. But, I hope,” he continued, “ ye do not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings are not to terrify the king’s subjects, neither are we enemies to him, or any man.”

Finding no grounds of crimination, they at last resorted to

the usual means of tendering the oath of allegiance and supremacy. This he refused to take for reasons already specified, and the justices committed him to prison in Lancaster Castle, where he was kept close prisoner until after the spring assizes in 1665, when he was removed to Scarborough Castle and detained upwards of a year longer. Finding an opportunity to lay his situation before the king, he soon obtained his release, after an arbitrary and most rigorous punishment of more than three years.

About a month after George Fox was sent to prison, the justices at Ulverston sent for Margaret Fell, and examined her about holding large meetings at her house, at which they seemed to be much offended, and insisted on tendering her the oath of allegiance. She said—"You know I cannot swear, and why did you send to my own house, and make me leave my lawful and domestic affairs for the purpose of ensnaring me by an oath?"

This language made some impression on the judges, and they told her if she would discontinue holding meetings at her house they would not tender the oath. This was a plain confession that the oath was a mere pretext for the purpose of imprisoning Friends without any real cause, and an arbitrary measure, assumed to cloak their religious persecution. To this proposal, however, she replied;—"I will not deny my faith or principles, for anything that ye may bring against me, and while it shall please the Lord to let me have a house, I shall endeavor to truly worship him in it."

She refused the oath, and they committed her to Lancaster Castle, which prison was at that time crowded with many of the Society, sent there for persisting to worship God in their own way, or because they would not break one of Christ's commands, and take an oath. Many of them were poor men, the existence of whose families depended on their daily labor, but they were placed above actual want by the kindness, charity and sympathy of their friends.

A large number of Friends were tried before Judges Hide and Terril, at Worcester, but nothing transpired during the



trial, worthy of note, except when the judge charged the jury, he said, though there was no evidence that any one preached at the meeting, yet if it was proved that the prisoners had kept a meeting for religious worship, they were bound to approve the indictment and bring into the court a verdict of guilty. In other cases of law, the judges would not have dared to pursue such an illegal and unwarrantable course.

A man named Edward Bourn was imprisoned for having attended a meeting, and during his trial he asked the judges, "If Christ and his Apostles should hold a meeting, would this act against conventicles take hold of them?"

"Yes," said the judge, "it would." But thinking he had replied most too rashly, he said, "I won't answer your questions. Ye are no Apostles." Bourn and several of his friends were fined five pounds each by the court. As these fines were laid on Friends, because they performed an indispensable duty they owed to God, their consciences would not permit the idea of paying them. This caused much distress; their goods were seized and sacrificed at one-half or one-fourth their real value, which made the actual loss much greater than the nominal fine of the court.

A number of persons were brought to trial, for attending a meeting held at the house of Robert Smith, and in the evidence several of the prisoners made it appear they were at another place during the time of the meeting; but because they would not inform the judges where they were, they decided they were guilty, and treated them accordingly. Robert Smith was premunired; but when the judge tendered him the oath, he asked, "For whom was this law made? Is it not for papists?" And as it was generally believed some of those on the bench were Roman Catholics, he said, "For the general satisfaction of all the people, some of ye that sit in judgment should take this oath."

"You must take the oath, or else sentence shall be pronounced against you," said one of the judges.

"Shall the example of Christ decide the question?" asked Smith.

But the judge replied, "I am not come here to dispute with you concerning the doctrine of Christ, but to inform you concerning the doctrine of the law."

An indictment was drawn up against him, and the judge inquired whether he would answer it or not? The reasons he gave were not accepted, and the following sentence was pronounced against him: "You shall be shut out of the king's protection, forfeit your personal estate to the king for ever, and your real estate during life." When this was read before the court, Robert Smith calmly said, "The Lord hath given, and if he suffers it to be taken away, his will be done."

## CHAPTER XVII.

MANY persecutions took place throughout the kingdom during this year, one of which is so interesting that we cannot pass over it without a full and minute notice. THOMAS LURTING, who was formerly a boatswain's mate, had passed through many dangers in the different battles in which he fought. Whilst sailing in a ship near the Canary Islands, under Admiral Blake, they encountered several Spanish men-of-war, and after a severe conflict, the English were victorious. During the battle the admiral placed Lurting in command of a pinnace and seven men, for the purpose of setting three galleons in the bay on fire, which order he performed with admirable courage; but on returning he had to pass a breastwork of the enemy, where a volley of small shot killed two men close by his side and wounded another in the back. In passing out of the bay they were forced to come within four ships' length of the castle, which was mounted with forty guns, and when they were immediately opposite, their enemies fired, but, wonderful as it may appear, not one was hurt.

In the year 1654, Thomas Lurting sailed in the same ship with a man who had attended several meetings of the Society of Friends in Scotland, and in his conversation upon religious subjects, he made a deep impression on two young men, for which he was discharged from the ship. The young men, however, daily became more serious, and often met together in silence, until their number began to increase. This conduct troubled the captain very much, and offended the priest on board, for he would frequently say to Lurting: "O, Thomas, an honest man and a good Christian; here is

a dangerous people on board, for it is known the Quakers are blasphemous, denying the ordinances and word of God." Thomas, in a fit of mistaken zeal, determined to put a stop to their peaceable meetings, and whenever they would assemble, he ordered them to disperse, and if they did not obey, he would inflict on them the usual ship punishment.

But in his hours of meditation, when he would remember the many fearful situations from which he had been delivered, through the mercy of the Lord toward him, and when he discovered what a worthless laborer the priest was in the Lord's vineyard, he could not find it in his nature to destroy the little silent meetings of these true worshippers, and in a spirit of deep humility he made many promises to God for his future conduct. By the grace of God it was shown him that if he did not perform these promises, he could reap no benefit by them. Unsettled in mind, he would frequently, when alone, pour out his heart freely before the Lord; and though he felt himself condemned, yet these judgments made him feel happy because they broke the hardness of the heart, and were at last a balm to the weary soul. Some of the ship's crew thought he was mad, and wrote home to England to that effect; it also fell to his lot to share some of the mockery and ridicule which he himself had once dealt out unsparingly to innocent people. It was made manifest to him that he should become a member of the Society of Friends, and after much weeping and praying, he resolved, "Whether Quaker or no Quaker, I am for peace with God." On the next first-day he resolved to go to the small meeting, now six in number, and it being reported he was to be present, many of the crew left the priest, in order to see him. After the meeting was over, the captain sent for Lurting, and endeavored to prove from the Bible that the Quakers were no Christians; Thomas remained silent, and the priest said: "I took you for a very honest man, and a good Christian, but am sorry you should be so deluded." Many things were said against the Friends, which he knew to be false, and when he saw how it was attempted by lies to vilify an innocent people, he

became strengthened in his purpose, and on going to his friends he said : " When I went to the captain I was scarce half a Quaker ; but by their lies and false reports they have made me almost a whole Quaker, or at least I hope to be one." He continuing to meet with his friends, some more soon joined them, and in less than six months they numbered twelve men and two boys, one of whom was the priest's. The ship was visited by a contagious disease, which swept away forty in a short time, and strange to say, although all the Friends on board had it, yet not one of them died. This dreadful visitation changed the captain's conduct; and wishing to treat Lurting very kindly, he ordered his cook always to give him a portion of the best dishes which were served at his table. The Friends got permission to hold their meetings in a small cabin ; and the captain was so well pleased with them, that when he had any careful and particular work to be done about the ship, he would say, " Thomas, take thy Friends, and see that this work is done right." Of course they were not complete Friends, for they did not then think it was wrong to fight ; and in several battles with their enemies they distinguished themselves above all the rest, which caused the captain to say : " I would not care if all my men were Quakers, for they are the bravest men on board of the ship." But at a fearful moment, the time of trial came. They were ordered from Leghorn to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spanish man-of-war in that port ; and during the battle, the Friends fought with much courage ; even Thomas, stripped to his waistcoat, was hard at work to overcome the enemy ; but when he levelled the guns, he gave orders not to fire until he went on deck to see where the shot fell, so that they might regulate them either higher or lower, as they required : as he walked out of the fore-castle door, he heard something say within : " What if now thou kill'st a man ? " It struck him with all the force of a thunderbolt ; and He who can change all men's hearts at his pleasure, turned his in a moment, in so great a degree, that he looked upon war and the use of carnal weapons as

a sin. Putting on his coat, he went up on deck, and with an unhappy mind, paced to and fro, almost unconscious of the battle that was raging around.

At night they dropped below the castle, in order to get beyond the reach of its guns; and Lurting took this opportunity to speak to two of his friends, and ask them their opinion concerning fighting against their fellow-man. One of them said: "If the Lord will only send me home well this time, I will never enter another fighting vessel."

"If you will stand honest to that of God in your own conscience," said Lurting, "and come to it to-morrow with the Lord's assistance, I will bear my testimony against it."

The next day one of the Friends went to the captain, to be excused from the engagement which was expected to take place.

"Why do you wish to be excused from the battle?" said the commander.

"My conscience will permit me to fight no longer," replied the sailor.

"He that will not fight at this time," said the captain, "I will stab with my own sword."

"Then thou wilt be a man-slayer, and guilty of shedding innocent blood," returned the other.

At this the captain, although he was once a Baptist preacher, beat the man very cruelly with his cane, and ever afterwards was an open and avowed enemy to Friends.

The ship had been cruising about the coast of Italy for several months, when one morning the watch at the mast head saw a large ship, which was supposed to be a Spanish man-of-war; and orders were immediately given to clear the deck, and make ready for the anticipated combat. Lurting, who was on deck, saw that the great hour of trial had at length arrived; and he earnestly prayed to God to give him strength to bear up against everything that might tempt him to break that commandment which Christ gave to all the world, "Thou shalt not kill." He collected all his friends together and spoke to them as follows: "We are in a fearful

situation, and the aspect of affairs is very dark and cloudy; yet I hope the Lord will deliver me and such as have faith in him. I lay not this as an injunction upon any one; but leave you all to the Lord. I must tell you that the captain puts great confidence in you; therefore, let us be careful that we give no just occasions, and all that are of my mind will meet in the most public place upon the deck, in the full view of the captain, that he may not say we deceived him, in not telling him that we would not fight; so that he might have supplied our places with others." Then they went up on deck, and meeting one of the lieutenants, he told them to go down to their quarters.

"I can fight no more," said Lurting.

The lieutenant went immediately to the captain and said, "Yonder the Quakers are, all together, and I do not know but we may have a mutiny; and one says he cannot fight."

The captain came to them, and with his cane whipped several, which they bore with becoming patience. The ship, which they expected to be an enemy, proved to be a friend, belonging to Genoa; before night the captain sent the priest to Lurting, hoping that he would excuse all that had passed, as it had been done in a passion.

"I have nothing but good will to the captain," said Thomas, "and tell him that he must have a care of such passions; for, if he should kill a man in his passion, he might seek for repentance and not find it."

Thomas Lurting arrived home in safety, and afterwards shipped in a merchantman; but he was several times pressed into the king's service, and suffered much on account of his religious principles. While helping to unload a ship at Harwich he was seized by a press-gang; but they were informed that he was a Quaker; and the captain of the vessel coming on board at the same time, tauntingly said, "Thou art no Quaker; for if thou wast a Quaker, thou shouldst be waiting on the Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and not toiling with thy body for subsistence."

"I perceive thou hast read some part of the Scriptures,"

said Lurting. "Did'st thou never read that he is worse than an infidel, who will not provide for his family? I have often heard the Quakers blamed for not working, but thou art the first that ever I heard blame them for working."

"Turn him away, he is a Quaker," said the angry captain. "No; pull him back again, he is no Quaker; thou art no Quaker, Thomas; for here thou bringest corn, and of it is made bread, and by the strength of that bread we kill the Dutch; and therefore no Quaker, or thou art as accessory to their deaths, as we."

After a few moments' silence, he turned to the captain and said;—"I am a man that can feed my enemies, and well may I you, who pretend to be my friends."

"Put him away, he is a Quaker," exclaimed the captain.

But a few days after, he was pressed again in the same vessel, and, when carried on board of a man-of-war, the captain ordered him to the cabin, where he began to curse the Quakers, and swore that if he did not hang Thomas, he would carry him to the Duke of York. The pressed sailor said but little, feeling himself in the hands of the Lord and above fear from the hands of any mortal.

"Why dost thou say nothing for thyself?" demanded the captain.

"Thou say'st enough for thee and me too," replied Lurting.

In talking with passionate men it is best to say little, for no reason or argument, however incontrovertible, will make the least perceptible impression on their minds, or if it does, their prejudices will not permit them to recognize the truth. The philosophy of this reasoning was the ground-work on which Lurting regulated his conduct while on board of all men-of-war. One night the ship's crew were aroused from their hammocks, by a cry from the captain's state room, "Where is the Quaker? Where is the Quaker?" Thomas hearing this, rushed into the cabin, saying—"Here I am. What lack you at this time of night?"



“ Oh ! what dreams ! ” exclaimed the captain ; “ Thomas, I cannot sleep, thou must go on shore.”

“ I am in thy hands, thou may'st do with me as thou pleasest,” said Lurting.

A boat was lowered, and the “ Quaker sailor,” as he was called, was put on shore at Harwich, by order of the captain, who in his anger had said—“ Hanging was too good for him.”

The most singular occurrence of Thomas Lurting's life, was the retaking of a ship from a band of pirates without resorting to the usual means of warfare. A member of the Society of Friends, George Pattison, commanded a merchant vessel which traded in the Mediterranean, and in the tenth month [October], whilst near the island of Majorca, his ship was chased by an Algerine pirate ; the English vessel being a good sailor, the captain crowded on all his canvass, which caused some of the materials to give way and the pirate overtook them. The pirates ordered the captain on board of their vessel, and in a small boat he with four of his men obeyed their commands. When the captain and his men arrived on board, the Turks sent fourteen of their men to take charge of the English ship, which now contained only Thomas Lurting, the mate, with three men and a boy. The mate received the Turks as friends, when they ascended the ship's side, and the pirates, somewhat surprised at their reception, treated all on board with the greatest civility. Lurting told his men to be of good cheer, for the Lord would deliver them from the hands of their enemies, and they should not be carried to Algiers as slaves. “ But let me desire you,” said he, “ as ye have been willing to obey me, so be willing to obey these Turks, in whose power we are now placed.” This they promised to do, and the pirates, seeing they were so passive, became careless, and six of them returned to their own vessel, leaving only eight on board of the Englishman.

“ Now,” said Lurting, “ if our captain were on board, with the rest of our men, I should not fear the Turks.”

The master and men were sent back, which caused much

rejoicing, and Lurting said, "I now believe I shall not go to Algiers, and if ye will be ruled by me, I will act for your delivery as well as my own."

"What if we should overcome the Turks and go to Majorca?" said the captain.

"I will kill one or two," said one of the men; and, "I will cut as many of their throats as you will have me," exclaimed another.

The mate, who had no idea of killing any one, became much troubled at the conversation, and said, "If I knew any of you would kill a Turk, I would give them warning of it before. But if you will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will be still." Seeing that he would not permit them to take their own course, they agreed to obey his instruction, and do whatever he ordered them. "Well," said Lurting, "if the Turks bid you do anything, do it without grumbling, and with as much diligence and quickness as ye can, for that pleases them, and will cause them to let us often be together."

A storm arose and separated the vessels; and the Turks being asleep in the cabin, they were disarmed, the passages to the cabin closed, and the helmsman steered for Majorca. A fair gale sprang up, and in the morning they were in sight of the island. When the pirates found they were prisoners, instead of resisting, they began to cry, but Lurting said he would take care of them, and they should not be sold as slaves to the Spaniards. On arriving at the port of Majorca, they told an English captain of their situation, who informed the authorities, and they were forced to put to sea again. The Turks attempted to seize the vessel several times, but they were foiled, and the mate concluded it was best to sail for the coast of Barbary and land them in a place from which they might easily reach Algiers. Considerable difficulty arose about the manner in which they could be safely set on shore; but at last Lurting agreed to take three men in a small boat, and accomplish it if possible. As he was stepping in the boat, he clasped the captain by the hand, and

said, "I believe the Lord will preserve me, for I have nothing but good-will in venturing my life; and I have not the least fear upon me, but humbly trust that all will do well." He placed all the Turks in the stern of the boat, whilst he took the bow, with a boat-hook in his hand, and the other men rowed, one of whom had a carpenter's adze, another had a cooper's heading knife, and these were the only arms in their possession. As they neared the shore, the men became frightened, which the Turks observing, rose to take possession of the boat. At this fearful moment, Lurting ordered the men to seize their arms, but not to strike until he gave the orders; and thinking it was better to stun a man than to kill him, he gave the leader of the pirates a pretty heavy blow, at the same time bidding him to sit down, which order he obeyed, as well as all his men. They soon reached shallow water, and the Turks were commanded to jump out, and on giving them some provisions, they took their leave, with many signs of great kindness. The little boat again proceeded to sea, but before they had gone a very great distance, they observed the Turks on the top of a high hill, waving their caps, as if to bid a last farewell to their best friends. Thus the "Quaker sailor" saved the ship and its men from a band of pirates, without shedding a drop of blood, and they returned with a prosperous gale to their native land.

Before the vessel arrived at London, the news of this somewhat extraordinary incident had spread throughout the city, and the king, with the Duke of York and several lords, being at Greenwich, came in a barge to the side of the ship, and heard a true account of the matter from the mate's own lips. When he was told they had set the Turks free, he said to the master: "You have done like a fool, for you might have had great gain from them:" and to the mate he said: "You should have brought the Turks to me."

"I thought it would be better for them to remain in their own country," replied Lurting.

The king smiled, and left the vessel; but the actions of

the captain and mate showed conclusively that they had learned the lesson the Saviour had taught: "Love your enemies, and do good to those that hate you."

Several years after, when some seamen, who were members of the Society of Friends, were in slavery at Algiers, George Fox wrote a book to the Grand Sultan, in which he proved their actions were in direct violation of the Alcoran and the advice given by Mahomet, and added a succinct narrative of the manner in which those Turks were treated who fell into the hands of Captain Pattison and his crew. The Friends, who were slaves, faithfully served their masters, and were allowed the liberty to hold meetings at stated times, which many persons attended, and commended them for adoring and worshipping the great living God, not outwardly with images, but with the heart. In a few years they were redeemed from slavery; but the manner in which it was accomplished is not recorded.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

It was in this year that William Sewel's mother, Judith Zinspenning, visited England, with William Caton, his wife, and two other Friends. She held meetings in many places, and through the aid of interpreters, succeeded in convincing many: she also wrote a book of proverbs, which was translated into English by William Caton, and published in London.

William Caton took passage in a vessel bound from Scarborough to Holland, and when about ten leagues from land, they were overtaken by a fearful storm, which threatened to destroy the vessel, and send them all to a watery grave. Although he was prepared to meet death, if such was the will of God, yet he knew it to be the duty of every man to preserve his life by all just and lawful means; and when the ship sprang a leak, he worked as long as any at the pumps, to keep her from sinking. He did not omit praying to the Most High for deliverance, if consistent with His holy will; and his prayer was heard, for the tempest ceased; but the wind being contrary, the captain resolved to enter Yarmouth, where Caton went to a meeting on the first day of the week, and in company with seven others, was arrested, and carried before the main guard. The next day they were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered the oath of allegiance, and on refusing to take it, they were cast into prison for six months, and did not return to Holland until the next year.

Two men, Lodowick Muggleton and John Reeves, appeared in England at this time, pretending to be the two witnesses spoken of in the third verse of the eleventh chapter

of Revelations. It was not long before Reeves died, yet Muggleton continued to preach all his wild doctrines, and wrote an article which was published, full of the most horrid blasphemies, from which we extract the following :—" I am the chief judge in the whole world and in passing the sentence of eternal death and damnation upon the souls and bodies of men. In obedience to my commission, I have already cursed and damned many hundreds of people, both body and soul, from the presence of God, elect men and angels to eternity. And I go by as certain a rule in so doing, as the judges of the land do, when they give judgment according to law ; and no infinite spirit of Christ, nor any god, can or shall be able to deliver from my sentence and curse."

Richard Farnsworth, a zealous and intelligent minister of the Society of Friends, answered this blasphemer, and said : " Consider the nature of thy offence, how far it extends itself ; and that is, to pass the sentence of eternal death and damnation, both on the bodies and souls of men and women, and that to eternity. Consider that thy injustice done by color of office, deserves to have a punishment proportionable to the offence ; and can the offence, in the eye of the Lord, be any less than sin against the Holy Ghost, and so would'st make the Holy Ghost the author of thy offence, which it is not ! And seeing thou art guilty of sin against the Holy Ghost, there is a punishment already proportioned for such an offence ; and also thou art punishable by the law of the land, for presuming under pretence of a commission and as a judge, to pass the sentence of death upon the bodies of men and women, and pretending to go by as certain a rule as the judges of the land do in their cases."

To this serious reply he wrote an answer, in which he said : " I will commend Farnsworth, first, for setting his name to it ; and, secondly, for placing his words so truly and punctually, that it makes my commission and authority but shine the more clear and bright. I am as true an ambassador of God, and judge of all men's spiritual estate, as any ever was since the creation of the world. And if you Quakers and others can

satisfy yourselves that there was never any man commissioned of God to bless or curse, then you shall all escape that curse I have pronounced upon so many hundreds; and I only shall suffer for cursing others, without a commission from God. But my commission is no pretended thing, but as true as the commission of Moses or the prophets, or the Apostles. And," he continued, "no man can come to the assurance of the favor of God, but in believing that God gave this power unto John Reeves and myself. I have power given me over all other gods, and infinite spirits whatsoever; I have the keys of heaven and hell, and none can get to heaven unless I open the gates! I have power to remit their sins, who receive my doctrine, and to retain and bind their sins more close to the consciences, for their despising and not receiving his doctrine! I am single in doctrine, knowledge, judgment and power, above all men, either prophets or apostles, since the beginning of the world, or that shall be hereafter while the world endures. No person condemned by me can make his appeal to God, neither by himself or any other, because God was not in the world. His power to condemn hath God given to me, and in this regard I am the only and alone judge of what shall become of men and women; neither shall those that are damned by me, see any other God or judge but me."

Muggleton then said that he had passed his sentence against Farnsworth, and if he should answer this, he (Muggleton) could not reply; as he had made it a standing rule never to hold the least communication with those whom he had damned. Still Farnsworth did not omit to answer his blasphemies, and expose the absurdity of his being one of the witnesses spoken of in Revelations. We shall have occasion to mention this Muggleton again, as he lived some years; but, in his history, we do not find that any punishment was inflicted on him by the magistrates, except the pillory and six months' imprisonment, which many thought entirely too light for his offences.

During this year were many cases of persecution; two

of which we cannot pass by unnoticed. OLIVER ATHERTON, a man of feeble health, having refused to pay tithes to the Countess of Derby, who laid claim to the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the parish of Ormskirk, she prosecuted him in a court of justice, and caused him to be imprisoned at Derby; where, remaining in a damp, unhealthy cell, he grew sick and died. Before his death, however, he wrote a letter to the countess in which he not only stated the cause why he refused to pay tithes, but that his life was in danger, if he remained longer in that wet, unhealthy prison; and begged her to show compassion, lest she should bring innocent blood upon her head. He despatched his son Godfrey with the letter, and, after receiving some rough treatment for not taking off his hat, he handed the letter to the countess; but she refused to grant his father the liberty required, without he would pay the tithes. Atherton soon died, and his friends carried his corpse to Ormskirk, fastening to every market-cross they passed, the following inscription, which was also inscribed on his coffin: "This is Oliver Atherton, from the Parish of Ormskirk, who by the Countess of Derby had been persecuted to death for keeping a good conscience towards God and Christ, in not paying tithes to her." Several others were imprisoned under similar circumstances; but the countess dying three weeks after Atherton was buried, they were released.

In the tenth month [October], HUMPHRY SMITH, a minister of the Society of Friends, died in prison at Winchester, after remaining a year in a narrow cell. In the year 1660, he had a vision of the fire in London, that took place six years after, a relation of which was distributed among the people. Whilst on his death-bed he said, "My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have a friend in the Lord." At another time he said, "Lord, thou hast sent me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my small measure, which thou hast committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try me farther, thy will be done." Previous to his departure,



he prayed earnestly, saying, "O Lord, hear the words and sighs of thine oppressed, and deliver my soul from the oppressors. Hear me, O Lord! uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Thou art strong and mighty, O Lord! and can deliver thy people from their cruel oppressors." Until the last moment of his life he continued quiet and sensible; and dying a prisoner, bearing witness to the Truth, he left this troublesome and transitory life, for one that is everlasting.

George Fox still remained in Lancaster Prison, where they tendered him the oath of allegiance, which was 1664. refused, and he was brought to trial in the beginning of the third month [March], before Judge Twisden. He entered the court with his hat on, which the judge ordered the jailor to take off; when George Fox said: "The hat is not the honor that comes from God."

"Will you take the oath of allegiance?" asked the judge.

"I never took any oath in my life," said George Fox.

"Will you swear, or not?" inquired Judge Twisden.

"I am neither Turk, Jew, nor heathen," replied George Fox, "and should show forth my Christianity. Dost thou not know that Christians in the primitive times, under the ten persecutions, and some also of the martyrs in Queen Mary's days, refused swearing because Christ and his Apostles had forbidden it? Ye have experience enough, how men have sworn first to the king, and then against him. But as for me, I have never taken an oath in all my life; and my allegiance doth not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honor all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great prophet, who is King of kings, the Saviour of the world, and the great Judge of the world, he saith, I must not swear. Now the point is, whether I must obey Christ, or thee; for it is in tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear."

"Do you own the king?" asked George Fox. On receiving an answer in the affirmative, he inquired: "Why then dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his

promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matter of religion so long as they live peaceably? Now if thou ownest the king, why dost thou call me into question and strive to make me take the oath when it is against my religion?"

The judge became angry, and exclaimed: "Sirrah, will you swear?"

"I am none of thy sirrahs," said George Fox, "but a Christian; and for thee, who art an old man and a judge, to sit there and give nick-names to the prisoners, doth not become either thy grey hairs or thy office."

"George Fox," said the judge, somewhat regaining his calmness, "will you take the oath or not?"

"If I could take any oath at all," he replied, "I should take this; for I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who said, Swear not at all. Now, if thou, or any of you, or any of your ministers and priests here, will prove that ever Christ or his Apostle, after they had forbidden all swearing, commanded Christians to swear, then will I swear."

As none of the priests offered to speak, Judge Twisden said,—“I am a servant to the king, and he sent me, not to dispute with you, but to put the laws in execution.”

He was sent to prison, and two days afterwards, was brought before the judge again, who asked him, whether he would traverse the indictment, or submit, and on desiring liberty to traverse, he was committed to prison until the next assizes, and during his confinement wrote several papers to the magistrates, manifesting the evil of persecution, and exhorting all to piety and virtue.

At the succeeding assizes, held in the eighth month [August], he was brought before Judge Turner, and an indictment was found against him for refusing to take the oath. The jury retired, and soon returned with a verdict of guilty, but in arrest of judgment the prisoner pleaded so many glaring errors in the indictment, that the court was forced, al-

though reluctantly, to acknowledge them sufficient to render it entirely null.

"As I cannot look for mercy," said George Fox, appealing to the judge, "I demand justice of you."

"You must have justice, and you shall have law," replied Judge Turner.

As the indictment was now destroyed, the judge again tendered him the oath, which he refused, and was sent to prison to await his trial at the next spring assizes, to be held in the following year. Colonel Kirby, who had command of the jail, was the chief instrument of his first imprisonment, and now that he had secured him again, ordered the jailor to keep him in close confinement and let no one have the least communication with him. The jailor, in compliance with this order, locked him up in a dismal cell, where he remained during the cold winter, every rain or snow rendering his room wet and damp. While in this gloomy abode he wrote several letters to King Charles, the kings of France and Spain, and also to the Pope: they were translated into Latin by one of his friends, and published in London. The substance of them treated of the barbarous persecutions which were constantly enacted throughout their separate kingdoms on account of religion. From his letter to the Pope we make the following extract:

"Innocent blood hath long cried for vengeance to the Lord; the earth swims with innocent blood, and the cry will be heard. Your frozen profession, and your cold winter images set up in your streets, the Lord God of power and dread, and of heaven and earth, will be avenged on thee, and all of you—his day is fast approaching. Ye great and rich cardinals and Pope, ye have been fed like fat hogs; and seeing that thou would'st not receive the Lord's messengers, but threw them in prison, and in your Inquisition, it may be the Lord may visit you another way, for his dread is gone out, and his zeal is kindled against you. The fields are sprinkled with the blood of the innocent, and ye are the Aceldama, or the field of blood. But the Lord is coming to take vengeance

upon you ; his hand is stretched over your heads, and his power is gone over you ; with that he will rule you, and smite you down, and bring that are lofty from your seats, and abase your pride, and take the glory to himself. How much blood, which is immeasurable, have ye drank since the days of the Apostles, and made yourselves drunk with it ! But now is the indignation and wrath of the Almighty come and coming upon you ; and thou, Pope, must feel it ; tremble, fear and quake, ye cardinals, tremble, ye Jesuits, tremble, ye priors, tremble, ye monks and friars, of what rank soever, for the army of the Lord God is coming over you, by whom ye shall be shaken and dashed to pieces."

Margaret Fell was also brought to trial at the Lancaster assizes, in the eighth month [August], for refusing to take the oath. When she was brought to the bar, the indictment was read, and the judge said again, " Will you take the oath ?"

" I desire to know, why I was taken from my own house," said Margaret, " when there is no law against the innocent and righteous ; and if I am a transgressor, let me know wherein."

" Do you go to church ?" demanded the judge.

" Yes, to the church of Christ," was the reply.

" But do you go to church with other people ?" inquired Judge Turner. " You know what I mean."

" What dost thou call the church, the house or the people ? The house, you all know, is but wood and stone ; but if thou call the people a church, to that I answer, as for the Church of England that now is, I was gathered to the Truth, unto which I now stand witness ; when this was not the established Church, I was separated from the general worship of the nation when there was another set up, than that which is now, and was persecuted by that power and suffered much hardship ; and would you now have us deny our faith and principles, which we have suffered for so many years, and turn to your church contrary to our consciences ?"

" You spend too much time in explanation," said the judge,

“come to the point; what say you to the oath, and to the indictment?”

“Regarding the oath,” replied Margaret Fell, “I tell you I cannot swear, for Christ Jesus has commanded, ‘Swear not at all.’ I own truth, faithfulness and obedience to the king, and all his just and lawful commands and demands; and I also deny all plottings against the king and all popish supremacy and conspiracy. I do not deny the oath, because it is an oath of allegiance, but I deny it because of Christ’s command against all oaths.”

After a debate of a few hours, the jury returned with a verdict of guilty, but her counsel pleaded for an arrest of judgment on account of several errors in the indictment, but the judge would not admit the motion, and passed sentence of premunire upon her. She remained in prison about twenty months before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house, where, after remaining a short time, she again returned to prison, where she continued four years, until she was released by an order from the king and council.

## CHAPTER XIX.

DURING the last year, Francis Howgill had been arrested at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and was brought to trial at the spring assizes of this year at Appleby, before Judge Twisden. When the jury was empaneled and the prisoner brought to the bar, the judge said: "The face of things is much altered since the last assizes; all sects, under pretence of conscience, did violate the laws, and hatched rebellions; not that I have anything to charge you with, but seeing the oath of allegiance was tendered to you at the last assizes, and you refused to take it, it was thought such persons were enemies to the king and government. I will not force you to answer to your indictment now, but I must do it at the next assizes, and in the meantime you must enter into recognizance for your good behavior."

"Thou knowest very well," replied Francis Howgill, "upon what slight pretences I was brought before thee at the last assizes, where thou wert pleased to tender me the oath of allegiance; though I believe both thee and the rest of the court did know it was a received principle amongst us not to swear at all. Many reasons I gave thee then—many more I have to add, if I may have audience; for it may appear to you an absurd thing, and obstinacy in me, to refuse it, if I should not tender a reason; I am none of those who make religion a cloak of maliciousness, nor conscience a cloak to carry on plots or conspiracies; the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of such things; and seeing I have to appear at the next assizes, I desire nothing will be required of me now."

On the second day of the assizes, he was again called

into court, and required to give a bond for good behavior. Judge Twisden made a speech against treasons and rebellions, saying these things were carried on under the color of conscience and religion, which no doubt he thought was a reflection on the Society of Friends.

"As to these things," said Howgill, "I am clear; I hope neither the court nor country have anything to lay to my charge: I bless the Lord that I have nothing to accuse myself with; for I have peace, and seek it with all men; and, as the court is pleased to give me time to answer to my indictment till the next assizes, and since it is a matter of great consequence to me—on which my liberty and estate depends, I hope the court will have no objections to the postponement of my trial for five months; as I will be in prison during the time."

"We do not desire your imprisonment if you will be of good behavior," replied the judge.

Here Justice Fleming remarked that Howgill was a great speaker among the Friends, and they could not do without him.

"If he will give bond for his good behavior, he shall be set at liberty," returned Judge Twisden. Then, turning to the prisoner, he said, "you need not tell us so much about conscience; we meddle not with that; but you condemn the laws, keep up great meetings, and do not go to church."

"It hath been a doctrine always and a received principle," replied Howgill, "as anything we believe, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up with carnal weapons, nor the gospel propagated by force of arms, nor the Church of God built with violence; but the Prince of Peace is manifest amongst us, and we cannot learn war any more, but can love our enemies, and forgive those that do evil to us; and though this unhappy controversy hath fallen among some men, who have brought trouble on the country and misery on themselves, we have no hand in it. This is the truth; and if I had twenty lives, I would engage them all that the body of the Quakers will never have any hand in war or things of

that nature, that tend to the hurt of others; and if any such whom you repute to be Quakers, be found in such things, I do, before the court here, and before the country, deny them,—they are not among us.”

“Well, we have spent enough time with you, and cannot discourse any longer,” said the judge.

“I acknowledge your moderation towards me,” replied Howgill, “and I shall not trouble you much longer. I cannot enter into bonds, or come to your church, because I would be treacherous to God and my own conscience; and even you and this people would think me a hypocrite.”

He was, however, committed to prison, to await his trial at the next assizes held at the same place in the eighth month [August]. Previous to this second trial, he wrote two papers, which were presented to the judges; one of them was a declaration, containing the substance of the oath, and the other a modest defence of himself for refusing to swear.

When he was brought before the bar, Judge Turner said: “Here is an indictment against you, for refusing to swear: are you guilty or not guilty?”

“May I have liberty to speak in my own defence?” inquired Howgill.

On receiving a reply in the affirmative, he said: “I will lay the true state of the case before you, seeing Judge Twisden is not here, who was privy to all the proceedings hitherto against me. I was born and educated in this country; my carriage and conversation is known, that I have walked peaceably toward all men, as I hope my countrymen can testify. About a year ago, being in a neighboring market-town, about my reasonable and lawful business, I was sent by a high constable to the justices of the peace for that place. They had nothing to lay to my charge; but asked me questions about our meetings, and at last tendered me the oath of allegiance, though they never read it to me, nor did I positively deny it, yet they committed me to prison. At the next assizes, Judge Twisden declared that my mittimus was insufficient; nevertheless, he there tendered me the oath, and



engaged me to appear at the following assizes, where, for refusing to give bond for my good behavior, I was committed to prison, where I have been for the last five months, some of that time under great restraint, and my friends were not suffered to see me, or even to speak to me. Now, as to the oath, the substance thereof, with the representation of my case, is already presented to the court, unto which I have set my hand, and shall in those words testify the same in open court, if required: and seeing it is the very substance of what the law doth require, I desire that it may be accepted, and that I may be cleared from my imprisonment."

"But why do you not go to church, but meet in houses and private conventicles, which the law forbids?" inquired the judge.

"We meet only for the worship of the true God, in spirit and in truth," responded the prisoner, "having the primitive Christians for our example; and to no other end but that we may be edified, and God glorified; and where two or three are met together in the name of Christ, and He in the midst of them, there is a church."

"That is true," replied the judge; "but how long is it since you have been to church, or will you go to the lawful church? Give me some reason why you do not go."

"I have many to give, if thou hast patience to hear them," said Howgill. "First: God dwells not in temples made with hands. Secondly: The parish house hath been a temple for idols, and I dare not have fellowship with idols, nor worship in idols' temples; for what have we to do with idols, their temples, or worship?"

"Will you answer to your indictment?" demanded the judge.

"I know not what it is," was the prisoner's reply; "I never heard it, though I often desired a copy."

The indictment was here read; and it stated that he had wilfully, obstinately, and contemptuously denied taking the oath of allegiance to the king and his government.

"I positively deny the indictment," exclaimed Howgill.

"Did you not deny to swear?" asked the judge.

"I gave the court the substance of the oath, as you all know," said the prisoner. "I also told you that I did not deny it out of obstinacy or wilfulness, neither in contempt of the king's law or government, for I would rather choose my liberty than bonds, and I am sensible it will be some damage to me. I have a wife and children, and some estate, that we might subsist on, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at stake; but if it were my life also, I cannot do what is wrong, lest I should incur the displeasure of God; and do you judge I would lose my liberty wilfully, and suffer the spoiling of my estate, and the ruining of my wife and children, in obstinacy and wilfulness? Surely not."

Judge Turner then turned to the jury and said: "You see he denies the oath, and will not plead to the indictment; he makes exceptions to the indictment only on account of the form of words used; he says he will not swear, you see on what ground?" The jury returned a verdict of guilty without leaving the court-room.

When he was brought to the bar on the next day to hear his sentence, the judge asked him if he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed.

"I have many things to say, if you will hear them," said Howgill. "First, as I have said, I deny not swearing out of obstinacy or wilfulness, but am willing to testify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I am condemned. Secondly, because swearing is directly against the command of Christ and the doctrine of the Apostles. Thirdly, even of some of the principal members of the Church of England, as Bishop Usher, once primate of Ireland, who said in his works, that the Waldenses denied all swearing in their age from that command of Christ and the Apostle James, and that it was sufficient ground; and Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, in a book I lately read, cites many ancient fathers, proving that the Christians, for the first three hundred years, did not swear, so that it is no new doctrine."

This the judge doubted, but on being told the books could

be procured, he said: "Why do you not come to church and hear service, and be subject to the law and to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake?"

"I am a subject," said Howgill; "and for that cause do we pay taxes, tribute and custom, and give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; viz., worship, honor and obedience; but if thou meanest the parish assemblies, I tell thee faithfully, I am persuaded, and upon good grounds, that their preachers are not the ministers of Christ, nor their worship the worship of God."

"Well, I see you will not swear," said the judge; "and you must not think we deal severely with you, for it is our duty."

"But I think you do deal severely with me for obeying the commands of Christ," returned the prisoner. "I pray thee canst thou show me an instance where the authorities have proceeded against those for whom this act was made?"

"Oh, yes," replied the judge. "I can mention to you many in the country who have been premunired; I have pronounced sentence myself against divers."

"No, not against the papists," said Howgill; "but I have heard this statute was made against them, but it is executed on the Quakers!"

The judge pronounced the following sentence, in a low-toned voice, as he was well aware he was unjustly treating an honest and upright man.

"You are placed out of the king's protection, and the benefits of the law; your lands are confiscated to the king during life, your personal estate for ever, and you are to be a prisoner during your existence."

"It is a hard, very hard sentence, for obeying the command of Christ," said Francis Howgill, "but I am content, and in perfect peace with the Lord; and may the Lord forgive you all!"

"If you will be subject to the laws, the king will show you mercy," replied the judge.

"The Lord hath shown mercy to me," said Howgill, "and I have done nothing against the king, nor government,

nor any man, blessed be the Lord, and therein stands my peace; and it is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing."

Then taking an affectionate leave of his family, he charged them to be content with his departure, as such was the will of God; and the jailor led him to prison, where he remained until death relieved him from his trials and sufferings.

In this important trial, the barbarity and cruelty of the persecutors need no comment; but the staunch perseverance in the conscientious idea of right on the part of Francis Howgill, adds another to the long list of proofs which this work furnishes, of what the Lord will do for those who steadfastly abide in him.

The Society of Friends also met with a severe loss in the death of John Audland, who died of consumption, contracted by the exertion of speaking, at the numerous meetings which he attended during the few last years of his eventful life. He was one of the earliest preachers among the Friends, and the first who, in company with John Camm, visited the city of Bristol and the western counties, where, as in other places, the numbers converted to the Faith gave powerful tokens of his effectual ministry; being fluent in expression, engaging in manner, and using language adapted to the different states of his auditory, the number of his hearers increased to such a degree, that for want of a house large enough to contain them, he and his companion were frequently obliged to hold their meetings in an orchard without the city. As he was a partaker of his brethren in gospel labor, so also he bore his share in their perils and the persecutions of their enemies. From repeated imprisonments and corporeal abuses, he contracted a cough, which finally terminated in a slow fever, reducing the body to an extreme state of weakness, and establishing in the system that fell disease, consumption.

Before his conversion, he was an Independent preacher, and after hearing George Fox speak several times, he said; "Ah! what have we been doing? Or, what avails our great

profession? All our building tumbles down; our profession is high as the wind; the day of the Lord is upon it, and his word as a fire consumes it as dry stubble, and puts an end to all empty professions, and high notions, without life or substance, to all the wisdom of fallen man. We must forsake the world, and all its glory; it is all vanity and vexation of spirit. It is a Saviour that I long for; it is him that my soul pants after. O! that I may be gathered into this life, and overshadowed with his glory, sanctified throughout by his word, and raised up by his eternal power!"

In this state he continued in daily supplication to the Lord, until it pleased him to proclaim peace to his soul, and send him forth to preach freely to all who would hearken to the word of Truth.

Some of his friends having visited him a short time before his decease, he addressed them with encouraging consolation, and exhorted them to be faithful through all the trials it was their lot to pass, while to his wife he said, "My will is in true subjection to the will of the Lord, whether that is life or death, and therefore give me up freely to his disposing." He loved his wife—dearly loved her, and it was only in the thought that he bid her adieu, to sleep in the bosom of Abraham, that his mind could become resigned to the great affliction. He was not only preserved in a peaceful serenity of mind at this solemn period, but at times was joyful in the prospect of approaching felicity, and often prayed for the prosperity of his friends; that they might be preserved in the truth, and out of the evil of the world; that the gospel of Christ might spread and be published to the gathering of all that pertain to Israel. His strength gradually diminished, and at the age of thirty-four, this faithful minister of the Lord, conscious of having done his duty whilst on earth, sweetly departed unto the long sleep of death—to be awakened by the archangel's trump on the great day of the resurrection. As a testimonial to the character of this good man, we make the following extract from an article published by his wife after his death.

“ The Eternal God, who by his Providence joined us together in marriage in our young days, in his blessed council also caused his day to spring from on high upon us ; in the marvellous light, and bright shining whereof, he revealed His son Christ in us, and gave us faith to believe in Him, the Eternal Word of Life, by which our souls came to be quickened, and made alive in him ; and also in and by the quickening of his Holy Power, we were made one in spiritual and heavenly relation, our hearts being knit together in the unspeakable love of Truth, which was our life, joy and delight, and made our days together exceeding comfortable, and it was that by which our temporal enjoyments were sanctified and made a blessing.—How hard it was and how great a loss to part with so dear and tender a husband as he was to me, is far beyond what I can express ; the dolor of my heart, my tongue or pen is not able to express. Yet in this I contented myself that it was the will of God that he should be taken from all evil ; and that my loss, though great, was not to be compared to his eternal gain.”

## CHAPTER XX.

It will be remembered that during the trial of Francis Howgill, the judge said there was a new statute which would make him swear ; this statute was called, an "Act to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles." Every rumor of an insurrection was a prelude to an additional law against the non-conformists. The plot alleged to have been formed in the north, which has been mentioned, was made a pretext for the new act, whereby the act of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth was declared to be in full force. It further enacted :— " That if any person of the age of sixteen years or upwards, after the first of July, 1664, should be present at any meeting under color or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England, where shall be five or more persons beside the household, shall, for the first offence, suffer imprisonment not exceeding three months, or pay a sum of money not exceeding five pounds, upon record made upon oath, under the hands and seals of two justices of the peace ; for the second offence, the penalty to be doubled ; and for the third offence, being convicted before the justices at their quarter sessions, or judge of assize, by the verdict of a jury, to be transported to some of the American plantations (excepting New England and Virginia) for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds, &c. And in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death. Sheriffs or justices of the peace, or others commissioned by them, are empowered to dissolve, dissipate, and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into custody such of their number as they think fit. Persons who suffer

such conventicles in their houses or barns, are liable to the same penalties and forfeitures as other offenders. Persons convicted of the third offence to be transported at their own expense, and in default of ability to pay the same, to be made over to the master of the ship, or his assigns, to serve them as laborers for five years. Married women taken at conventicles, are to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding twelve months, unless their husbands pay a sum not exceeding forty pounds for their redemption. This act to continue in force for three years, and to the end of the next session of Parliament."

The former act of 1661 enacted the same penalties, though not so strongly expressed as this; nor does it appear that it was so rigorously enforced. The penalties of that act affected the Friends only; but this extended to all who met in any other manner than that allowed by the Liturgy, or practice of the church, reaching all the non-conformists of every description; yet we do not meet with a single instance of its being put in execution against any, except members of the Society. An anonymous writer, evidently a learned man, published a pamphlet in London, in which he showed, from the laws of England, the absurdity of this act, since all religious duties exercised by six persons, not according to the formality of the Church of England, was forbidden; and several incidents proved that it was a transgression for any one to pray in a sick room, when the sufferer was near the door of death: or if any one should pray for the happiness of a young married couple, it was deemed a violation of the law. It might happen that some, by the malice of their enemies, might not only incur imprisonment for three months, but, by a repetition of such friendly offices, be condemned to transportation. That this was not without danger appeared sufficiently by what Judge Orlando Bridgeman said to the jury at Hertford: "You are not to expect a plain, punctual evidence against them for anything they said or did at this meeting: for they may speak to one another, though not with any auricular sound, but by a cast of the eye, or a



motion of the head or foot, or gesture of the body. So that if you find or believe in your hearts that they were in the meeting under cover of religion in their way, though they sat still only, and looked upon each other, it was an unlawful meeting."

George Whitehead, a member of the Society of Friends, also took this occasion to expose the unreasonable severity of the persecutors; to strengthen his friends to steadfastness in their Christian testimony; to exculpate them from the charge of obstinacy, and answer several other things which had been lately brought against them, and amongst the rest, the following specious objection:

"The Quakers might keep small meetings, and so not fall under the lash of the law; for if they did not meet above five in number, they were not within reach of the law; and by keeping private meetings, they might also acquit their consciences before God."

To this George Whitehead said: "It might have been objected to the Prophet Daniel, that he might have prayed secretly, and not with open windows and thrice a day, after King Darius had signed the decree—that whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into the den of lions; but Daniel, notwithstanding this decree, continued to pray unto God as before. Since then our meetings are kept in obedience to the Lord God, and according to the freedom he hath given us, we may not leave off our testimony for God in that case; but we must be faithful to him, whatever we suffer on that account. For neither the threatening of men, nor their severity or cruelty acted against us, how far soever it may extend, can make us forsake the Lord by not holding meetings, or be ashamed of Christ before men, lest hereafter he be ashamed of us before his Father which is in heaven." Again he said: "How unreasonable it was to incite a jury on ill-grounded suspicion, without leaving them the liberty of their own judgment; and the judges have their duty specified in the law and in Magna Charta." He also proved how unequal

it was that soldiers, who abused the Friends, should be called before the courts as witnesses against them; and that they should be locked up with thieves and felons when this was contrary to the rights of free-born Englishmen."

Josiah Coale also wrote an article, warning the king and both houses of Parliament to beware how they persecuted an innocent and unoffending people; but remonstrances, however reasonable, had little effect upon the men now possessed of power, and previously determined to exert it with vindictive violence in the punishment of non-conformists.

At the assizes at Hertford in the eighth month [August], the following persons, members of the Society, were brought to trial: Francis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Jeremy Hern, Thomas Wood, John Bendall, and Samuel Trahern. Judge Orlando Bridgeman was on the bench, and the prisoners were indicted for the third offence against the conventicle act. This was a remarkable instance of the eagerness of the persecutors; for this act was not in force until the first of the seventh month [July], and these persons were arraigned for the third offence on the twelfth or thirteenth of the succeeding month. Now as the penalty for the first offence was imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and for the second not exceeding six, at the discretion of two justices, it was usual with these justices to commit them for a few days for the first and second offences, not out of tenderness, but in order to subject them more speedily to the penalty of transportation for the third.

An indictment was drawn up against the above named eight persons, stating that they had been at an unlawful meeting three sundry times, at specified places. This indictment having been delivered to the grand jury, they could not agree in their verdict; for there were some whose consciences would not permit them to be accessory to such a shameful work of persecution, and they ignored the bill. Now, although this was a legal verdict, and the court had no right to reject it, yet the judges were so inured to surmount every barrier of justice, in order to gratify themselves in persecuting an

innocent people, that instead of accepting the grand jury's verdict, Judge Bridgman addressed them as follows: "My masters, what do you mean to do? Will you make a nose of wax of the law, and suffer the law to be baffled? Those that think to deceive the law, the law will deceive them. Why don't you find a true bill?"

With these instructions they retired again, and brought in a bill against the prisoners. Then four of their number were called to the bar, and when the clerk asked whether they were guilty or not guilty, they replied, they were not guilty, having transgressed no just law.

"But," said the judge, "you have transgressed this law (holding the conventicle act in his hand), and you have been twice convicted already on record, and if ye are found guilty by the jury this time, I must pass the sentence of transportation upon you. Now, therefore, ye shall see we do not desire to strain the law to the highest severity; neither do I believe that it was the aim of law-makers to be severe, but for conforming. If ye will promise that ye will not go, or be at any more such meetings, I will acquit you for what is passed; this favor ye may receive before the charge is delivered to the jury; but afterward I cannot do it. And know, also, if the jury, for want of punctual evidence, should not find you guilty, yet if ye are taken again, ye will be in the same situation as at present. What say you? Will ye promise to meet no more?"

"We can promise no such thing," replied the prisoners.

The jury was then sworn, and witnesses examined, who deposed that they found those persons assembled, more than five together, at certain times and places, but they neither heard any of them speak, nor saw anything out of order. The judge, in summing up the evidence and charging the jury, said: "You are not to expect plain, punctual evidence of anything said or done, a bare proof of their being met for worship in their own manner, not being according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, is sufficient for their conviction. 'Tis not your business to enter into the mean-

ing of the law, but simply to determine the fact." The jury, with these instructions, left the court, and returned with a verdict of guilty. The judge ordered the prisoners to rise, and read the following sentence: "You shall be transported beyond the seas to the island of Barbadoes, and there remain for seven years."

The other four were placed at the bar, and condemned to be transported to Jamaica. When the sentence was pronounced, the prisoners said: "We have transgressed no law of God, nor wronged any man."

Three other prisoners were arraigned for trial, among whom was John Reynolds, who, according to the testimony of the witnesses, had been within a yard of the door of the meeting-house, with his face from it. As applicable to his situation, and to induce the jury to bring him in guilty, the judge illustrated his case in the following manner: "Suppose a man be killed in a house, and nobody saw him killed, but a man is met coming out of the house with a bloody knife in his hand, it is a very probable evidence that he is guilty of murder. So, though the witnesses do not say that they saw him actually in the meeting, yet they swore he was within a yard of the door, with his face from the place where they usually met, and twice before has he been taken and convicted upon record. I now leave it with you to draw the inference."

The jury returned with a verdict of "guilty," against the three; but "not guilty," in the case of Reynolds. The condemned were then brought to the bar, and the judge asked them what they could say why judgment of transportation should not be passed upon them.

"We are innocent," said the prisoners, "and have not offended any just law of God or man, to deserve that sentence; we leave it to the witness of God in thy or your consciences."

"You have done contrary to the conventicle act," replied the judge, "which was made by the king and Parliament,

and executed by us their subordinate ministers; if it be not righteous and just, we must answer for that."

One of the prisoners said, "If I have transgressed any just law, let me suffer; and if not, he that judgeth for God will not condemn me."

"Hear your sentence," exclaimed Judge Bridgman. "You shall be transported beyond the seas, to the island of Jamaica, being one of his Majesty's foreign plantations, there to remain seven years. Now I have this one thing to acquaint you with: if you, or either of you, will pay down here to the court an hundred pounds, before the court is adjourned, all of you shall be acquitted and set at liberty."

But they unanimously answered "No," and pursuant to the sentence, the jailor, by the sheriff's order, applied to Thomas May, captain of the ship *Anne*, and contracted with him to carry them to Barbadoes for five pounds a-piece, and those to Jamaica for six pounds; at the same time informing the captain that they were freemen. When they were taken on board the ship, the captain saw they were under compulsion and refused to receive them, as his contract was to carry freemen and no others. The disappointed jailor immediately went to the secretary of state, and made oath that he had contracted with Thomas May for the prisoners' passage, as persons convicted by the conventicle act. May was sent for, and although he had witnesses to disprove the oath of the jailor, yet the secretary would not hear their evidence; and made the captain, against his will, carry the prisoners to the specified places. They were put on board, but sent back to shore several times, between London and Gravesend; it being very remarkable, that although many other vessels passed them going down the river, this ship could not, on account of contrary winds and stormy weather, proceed to sea. Not only the captain, but his men, became very uneasy and said they would leave the ship, if the prisoners were not set on shore; for they believed Heaven was against them, and if they went to sea all would be lost.

After cruising along the shore for nearly two months, he finally dismissed them at Deal, with a certificate, stating that they had not run away, but were freely set on shore; and among the reasons given for his conduct, the captain said, "Seeing the great adversities they had met with, I concluded that the hand of God was against me; and, therefore, I durst not go off with these prisoners, because I found them to be honest men, who did not deserve banishment. And also there is a law extant, that no Englishman shall be transported against his will; and my men refused to proceed on the voyage, if I did not set the prisoners on shore."

On board the *Anne* was one man who had been very officious in getting them on board, and desirous of detaining them with a design, it was thought, of selling them on the islands. This Manning (for such was his name) entered a complaint with the deputy or principal officer at Deal, that these prisoners had ran away from the ship; but when they were arrested, the captain's certificate was produced and they were set at liberty.

They returned home, and by letter acquainted the king and council of the whole proceedings; which letter was read at the council board, who by an order committed them to prison, until means of transporting them by some ship could be found; and here they remained until released by the king's letters patent, after an imprisonment of more than seven years. On their return to prison, they found twenty-one more of their friends in imprisonment; who, at the quarter sessions of Hertford, in the tenth month [October], were condemned to banishment, under which sentence most of them were kept in close confinement until released by letters patent, granted by the king in 1672.

## CHAPTER XXI.

DURING the three last months of this year, many were condemned to transportation, among whom were several women, and although their trials deserve particular notice, yet we have only space sufficient to take a cursory glance at their sufferings.

On the thirteenth of the tenth month [October], the Sessions began at Hicks Hall, before Sir John Robinson, and a bill of indictment was preferred against sixteen members of Friends, for the third offence of the conventicle act. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty, but the judge forced them to retire again, and bring in that of guilty. How hard this was to accomplish appears from the confession of one of the jurymen, who afterwards published a small book entitled, "The Wounded Heart, or the Jurymen's offences." Twelve of them received sentence of transportation, amongst whom was a young woman named Hannah Trigg, whose treatment was unusually tyrannical, and contrary even to this severe law; for being asked why sentence should not be passed upon her, she replied, "I am not yet sixteen years old."

"You tell a lie," said one of the justices, "and I was always told the Quakers never lied."

And although a certificate of her birth signed by two female witnesses, asserted that she was born the twentieth day of the eighth month [August], 1649, yet the justices who were intent on multiplying convicts, arbitrarily rejected this proof, appearing determined to surmount all the legal objections by which she might escape the designed punishment. The sentence of banishment was passed on this innocent

girl—but she grew sick, and died in Newgate prison; and what was most barbarous on the part of her persecutors, they did not permit their unfeeling humanity to cease with her life, but extended it to her dead body, by debarring her relations from the consolation of paying their last mournful tribute of affection, by interring her in a respectful and suitable manner. They most shamefully buried her in a place specially devoted to murderers and to felons, and to others who die before their term of imprisonment had expired.

At the same time the sentence of banishment was pronounced against twelve other persons, among whom were four married women, who were, after eleven months' imprisonment in Bridewell, discharged. In pronouncing their sentence, the judge ordered part of them to be taken to Hispaniola, when some of the people informed him that it did not now belong to England. He also made another mistake during the trial, by accusing the prisoners of having transgressed the laws of the Commonwealth, forgetting that Charles the Second was now king of England—showing the ignorance and recklessness of some of these judges.

On the twenty-first of this month, the mayor, with the sheriffs and Alderman Brown, went to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, and after closing all the doors, arrested about one hundred and sixty persons, and sent them to Newgate for four days, where they were all crowded into a small room, without respect to age or sex. On the twenty-eighth, one hundred and seventy-five were sent to prison, privately, the magistrates being ashamed to expose their unrelenting severity to the public eye. On the fourth of the ninth month [September], two hundred and thirty more were also committed to Newgate. The prisons were crowded to overflowing, and on the seventh of the ninth month [September], at the sessions of Old Bailey, Judge Keeley proceeded to the trial of those who were brought to the court for the third offence. In his charge to the grand jury he used the following language;

“The Quakers teach dangerous principles: this for one:



that it is not lawful to take an oath. You must not believe that their leaders believe this doctrine, only they persuade these poor ignorant souls that they do ; but they have an interest to carry on against the government, and for that reason they will not swear subjection to it ; and their end is rebellion and blood. You may easily know that they do not believe themselves what they say, when they tell you it is not lawful to take an oath, if you look into the Scripture ; the text (Matt. v.) where our Saviour saith, Swear not at all, will clear itself of such a meaning as forbids swearing, if you look but into the next words, where it is said, Let your communication be yea, yea ; nay, nay ; and it is said an oath is an end of all strife. This for the New Testament. And the Old is positive for swearing ; and they that deny swearing, deny God of a special part of his worship.

“ They pretend, in their scribbles, that the Conventicle Act doth not concern them, but such as, under pretence of worshipping God, do in their meetings conspire against the government. This is a mistake : for if they should conspire, they would then be guilty of treason, and we should try them by other laws ; but this act is against meetings, to prevent them from forming a conspiracy ; for they meet to consult, to know their number, and to hold correspondence with one another, so that they may, in a short time, be up in arms.

“ I had the honor to serve the king at York, upon the trial of those wicked plotters, and we found those plots were hatched and carried on in these meetings, and we hanged four or five of the speakers or praters, whom we found to be chief leaders of that rebellion. I warrant you their leaders will keep themselves clear of the third offence : we shall not take them. If we could catch their leaders, we should try them by some other law, which, if executed, will deprive them of life. This is a merciful law ; it takes not away their estates ; it leaves them entire, only banishing them for seven years if they will not pay one hundred pounds ; and this is not for worshipping God according to their con-

sciences, for that they may do in their families, but forsooth they will not do it, but must have thirty, forty, or an hundred others to contrive their designs."

No doubt Judge Keeley imagined the bench was a privileged place for him to utter falsehoods in, and that his office and power exempted him from detection. He had a peculiar inexpressible manner of misrepresenting facts, in order to deprive people of their just rights; and to add public odium to exorbitant severity, he not only punished with the utmost rigor of this unrighteous law, but would bring aggravating accusations against the prisoners, without the least regard to truth. He intended to proceed immediately to the trial of some of them; but on calling one of the prisoners to the bar, he proved conclusively to the jury that he was not present at the meeting of Friends held at the Bull and Mouth. The judge was disappointed, and immediately discharged the jury, at the same time issuing orders for the jailor of Newgate, the marshal and his posse, to attend all the meetings of Friends, and be prepared to give evidence against them at the next sessions.

Thus the magistrates and judges continued with unrelenting severity to try, imprison, and condemn to banishment, the innocent members of this Society. An account published at this time states that more than six hundred were confined in prisons in different parts of the country; two hundred were sentenced to banishment in this and the succeeding year, of whom about one hundred and fifty were condemned at the Old Bailey and Hick's Hall; and what is most remarkable, we find out of this large number, only seventeen were actually transported, which was not owing to any relaxation of severity on the part of government or its subordinate magistrates, but the difficulty they met with in procuring vessels.

Whilst Josiah Cole was in prison in London, he wrote several letters to his friends, exhorting them to constancy and faithfulness amid their many trials and sufferings. It was a time of wretchedness. Those who suffered in the name of

the Lord, continued honest, upright, straightforward, in their course ; while others did not neglect to petition the king to put an end to the persecution, for God would not let his people suffer always. Among these was William Bailey, who wrote to the king and Parliament a very strong letter, warning them to beware of the course they were pursuing, or the vengeance of God would fall heavily upon them. He concluded his somewhat lengthy letter with the following paragraph :

“ And let me tell you again, that by these, your unreasonable and unjust dealings, the understandings of thousands are the more opened, and the tender, sober part or principle in them, doth feel the weight and burden of this grievousness, which you have prescribed and do so eagerly pursue to the imprisonment until death of many innocent and free-born people of this nation. And your unnatural, cruel sentence of banishment, to separate husbands and wives, and every tie of tenderness ! Oh ! how do you rend the bowels of the meek of the earth, whom God hath blessed ? What is become of all your promises of liberty for tender consciences ? God’s curse and vengeance will come upon you, and his plagues will pursue you to destruction, if you proceed in this work ; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless ; the Lord hath spoken it. If you had the hearts of men, or of flesh, ye would be afraid, and blush at the very thought ; my heart and soul melts within me, and I am bowed down in my spirit to think of the hardness of your hearts. Ye are and have been warned again and again by the faithful messengers and servants of the Lord, in love to your souls ; and you are left without excuse, if never words more should be mentioned to you, by which ye might perceive how the Lord doth strive with you, that ye might repent, and be saved from the wrath to come, though some of you feel little of it in your own consciences ; but his spirit will not always strive with you. If you are resolved to go on, you will be wholly given up, and exceedingly hardened, and grow desperate in cruelty and oppression against God, and his truth and people, till the

whole earth is filled with violence ; and then, as true as God liveth, will the flood come upon you, and ye shall fall after the manner of Egypt, and the weight of the dreadful judgment, due for all your abominations and cruelties, shall sink you down into the pit that is bottomless."

Others were engaged in bearing testimony against persecution by their epistles, remonstrances and prophetic warnings, addressed to the king and Parliament ; and yet, what was remarkable, amongst the great number condemned to banishment, not one of these eminent and active members was included, although they never sought to escape by subterfuge, but continued, when at liberty, to be an example to their brethren in their regular attendance of meetings. Two of their prophetic warnings are too remarkable to be passed over unnoticed. The first is extracted from a publication of George Fox, Jr., which was printed in 1661, in which he lamented over England on account of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedness and persecutions ; he said, " The Lord had spoken in him concerning the inhabitants." " The people are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them !" Further, " that an overflowing scourge, yea, even a great scourge, yea, even a great and terrible judgment will come upon the land, and many in it will fall and be taken away."

The next is a short admonitory caution from George Bishop, of Bristol. He said to the king and both houses of Parliament,—“ Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience ; for if you do, I will send my plagues upon you, and you shall know that I am the Lord.

“ Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant.”

Yet while these severe measures were rigorously executed, for forcing uniformity in religious matters, true religion was never more neglected than it was by the ruling party. The manners and habits of the age were, to a scandalous degree, corrupt and immoral. Through the example of their superiors, and the pliant doctrine of their teachers, adapted to

flatter the great, and generally more abusive of non-conformity than vice, "the common people [says Neale] gave themselves up to drunkenness, profane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgment of Heaven upon the nation."

The Society of Friends looked upon the succeeding calamities which befel the nation, as divine judgments inflicted upon a sinful and persecuting generation; although the secrets of the Almighty are deep and wondrous, and his ways above the investigation of human wisdom, yet we think scripture warrants us in considering national calamities in this light, when national corruption arrives at such a degree as to need some check, in order to show the brink of ruin on which the nation stands.

The first of these evils was a war with the Dutch; the wanton and unjust policy commenced by the English Court, and promoted by the selfishness of France, cost the nation a great amount of money, besides the loss of thousands of lives on both sides, without the least advantage to either country.

The next general calamity which befel the nation, had more the appearance of a divine visitation on account of the transgressions of the people. It was the plague, which spread throughout England in 1665. Neale says, "It was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched, and burnt up like the highways, insomuch, that there was no food for the cattle, which occasioned first a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human species, which increased in the city and suburbs of London, till eight thousand or upwards died in a week. The wealthy inhabitants fled into the remoter counties; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not easily described." All trade was entirely stopped. Inter-course between London and the country was much interrupted.

The terrible disease walked the streets, and pointed out with its contaminated finger the victims of Death. With

the grasp of an invisible Hercules, its almighty hand came down upon the hearts of men, crushing out the very spark of life, ere people were well aware their friends were in danger. Then came the sound and sigh of wo. The anvil ceased to echo forth its clang, the sledge was unlifted, the bellows breathed not, the fire of the furnace burnt out. The saw, the plane and the hammer grew still. Merchants shut up their stores, and walked home to die. No sound came upon the ear, save the clink of the hammer or the grating of the saw, as the undertaker hastily threw together the last narrow withdrawing-room of poor mortality. Everything seemed to partake of the general terror. Grass was growing in the most populous streets, and where once was the busy hum of men, now became a scene of solitude, silence and gloom. Yet there were roads on which the grass did not spring up—they led to the graveyards.

It was certainly an awful visitation, sufficient one would think to rouse the most inconsiderate to serious thoughtfulness, when they viewed the examples of mortality which were daily multiplying before their eyes, and uncertain what hour they would be called upon to give up their stewardship; but they were unawed by these symptoms of Divine displeasure, and not in the least relenting their persecutions, they proceeded in their conduct by increasing the number of prisoners and exiles, as if nothing extraordinary had taken place.

## CHAPTER XXII.

IN the fourth month [April] of this year, twelve more were sentenced to transportation, and seven others 1665. were taken from Newgate to Gravesend, and in company with eight others whom they met at that place, were put on ship-board to be transported to the plantations.

On the eighteenth and twenty-second of the next month, thirty-four were sentenced to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell. Those who were tried on the eighteenth, were sentenced by Judge Wharton, and those on the twenty-second by Judge Windham, who said to one of the female prisoners: "Anne Blow, I would show you as much favor as the court will allow you, if you will say you will not attend the seditious meetings at the Bull and Mouth." She answered: "Would'st thou have me sin against that of God in my own conscience? If I were set at liberty to-day, and the Lord required it of me, I would go to the Bull and Mouth to-morrow." Concerning another of the prisoners, John Gibson, the same judge addressed the jury in the following manner: "Gentlemen, although it is true, as this Gibson saith, that it cannot be proved, that they were doing any evil at the Bull and Mouth; yet it was an offence for them to be met there, because in process of time there might be evil done at such meetings; therefore, this law was made to prevent them." It was in this way they undertook to cloak their inhuman actions.

At the next sessions of Old Bailey, four more were condemned to transportation, under which sentence one hundred and twenty persons still remained in Newgate, the sheriff not knowing how to get rid of them; for the masters of

ships, persuaded of the men's innocence, refused to carry them; and the increasing pestilence confirmed them in their refusal, for they looked upon it, like many others, as a judgment sent upon the nation for its persecuting laws. To remedy this difficulty, an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with an order that no ship should go down the river without a pass from the admiral; and this would be given to no captain sailing to any West Indies' port, but on condition of his carrying some of the transported prisoners. Remonstrances of the illegality of forcing Englishmen out of their native country, were in vain. After some trouble, they at last found a man to suit their purpose; his name was Fudge; and whilst making arrangements with him, he said: "I will not stick to transport my nearest relations." With this man the sheriffs agreed to take the prisoners to Jamaica, and in a few days fifty-five were put in a barge near Newgate, and carried down the river to the ship, which was lying at Bugby's-hole, a short distance below Greenwich. When they came to the ship's side, the master being absent, the seamen refused to assist in forcing them on board, and the prisoners were unwilling to be active in their own transportation. The turnkey and officers said that they were the king's goods, and the sailors ought to assist in placing them on board the ship; but the mariners were inflexible, and sternly refused to lend the least aid. At length, with much difficulty, they got four on board; and wearied with their task, they returned with the rest to Newgate. In about two weeks, they were again taken to the ship, and soldiers were sent from the Tower to assist the prison officers in placing them on the ship's deck. Many of the prisoners' friends accompanied them in other boats, though the soldiers threatened to sink them if they did not leave. When they arrived at the ship, the commander of the soldiers called on the seamen to assist, but few of them regarded his summons. The soldiers then went to work, and after using the most severe treatment, they succeeded in accomplishing their task, after an hour's hard work, placing thirty-seven men and eighteen



women between two decks of the ship. The captain was arrested for debt, and cast into prison, and it was nearly seven months before they reached the Land's End: in the intermediate time, the pestilence spread in the ship, and caused the death of twenty-seven of the prisoners. Another captain was procured, and on the twenty-third of the second month [February], of the following year, the vessel sailed from Plymouth, and was the next day taken by a Dutch privateer, off the Land's End, and carried to Hoorn, in North Holland. When the commissioners of the Dutch admiralty were informed that they would not be exchanged as prisoners of war, they set them at liberty, with a passport, and a certificate, stating "that they had not made their escape, but were sent back by them." From Hoorn they went to Amsterdam, where they met with a kind reception from their friends, who provided them with lodging and clothes, their own having been mostly taken from them by the crew of the privateer. All except one (who was a native of Holland) returned to England; thus the hand of Divine Providence frustrated the design of their persecutors.

The same week that these fifty-five persons were put on ship-board, the bills of mortality in London amounted to upward of three thousand; in the next, to four thousand and thirty, and went on increasing, until the ninth month [September], when they numbered over seven thousand weekly.

It is said during the height of the pestilence, the king asked one of his courtiers, "Whether any Quakers died of the plague?" When the courtier replied in the affirmative, the king said it could not be looked upon as a judgment against the persecutors; but his chaplain could have told him the words of Solomon, "There is an event to the righteous and to the wicked;" or, of the saying of Job, "He destroyeth the perfect and the wicked," which would no doubt have shown him the error in his conclusion.

It is natural to suppose that a contagion which spread through all the city with unabated violence, would soon infect the jails and prisons, which are at all times liable to

infection, on account of the numbers crowded together and breathing the polluted air of close, damp, and filthy rooms. In Newgate fifty-two fell victims to this contagion, twenty-two of whom had been tried and sentenced to transportation. In opposition to every feeling of humanity, they continued to crowd the infectious jails with fresh prisoners. On the ninth of the eighth month [August], Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, sent a body of soldiers to break up the meeting at the Peel ; they entered in their usual hostile manner, and the soldiers took thirty-two of them to Newgate without the least regard to the condition of that prison. In the same month, eighteen others were committed to the Gatehouse, Westminster, by warrants from the Duke of Albe-marle, four of whom died of the plague.

Among the great numbers who laid down their lives in prison in the course of this year, was Samuel Fisher, who was a prisoner in various jails, during the last four years of his life. In 1661 he was several months a prisoner at the Gatehouse, in Westminster ; soon after his release he was illegally apprehended, as before related, sent to Bridewell, and after some time brought to Guildhall, where, refusing to take the oath of allegiance, he was committed to Newgate, and confined there for twelve months. After he was discharged, he was again taken at Charlwood, in Surrey, and committed to the White Lion prison, in Southwark, where, after nearly two years' imprisonment, he finished his earthly course in perfect peace with God.

We see the predictions of George Bishop were fulfilled. Whilst in prison at Bristol he wrote a letter to his friends, exhorting them to steadfastness, and telling them if they happened to be banished, " God would give them grace in the eyes of those among whom they should be sent, if they continued to adhere to him ; and that when he should have tried them, he would bring them again into their native country : and none shall root you out, but you shall be planted and built up there ; and the Lord shall visit our

enemies with the sword and pestilence and strike them with terror."

When Isaac Pennington was a prisoner, he wrote to the king and Parliament, and in a spirit of meekness endeavored to dissuade them from all persecution. After proposing several important queries, he said, "Were it not in love to you, and in pity (in relation to what will certainly befall you, if you pursue the same course), I could say in the joy of my heart, and in the sense of the good will of my God to us, who suffereth these things to come to pass; go on, try it out with the spirit of the Lord: come forth with your laws, and prisons, and spoiling our goods, and banishment, and death, and see if ye can carry it. For we come not forth against you in our own wills, or in any enmity against your persons or government, or in any stubbornness of spirit; but with the lamb-like nature which the Lord our God hath begotten in us, which is taught and enabled by him, both to do his will, and to suffer for his name's sake. And if we cannot thus overcome you (even in patience of spirit, and in love to you), and if the Lord our God pleaseth not to appear for us, we are content to be overcome by you. So the will of the Lord be done, saith my soul." He also proposed the following question to the king and Parliament: "Whether laws made by man, in equity, ought to extend any farther than there is power in man to obey? And if it was not cruel to require obedience in such cases, wherein the party hath not the capacity of obeying?" And to explain this subject still more, he said, "In things concerning the worship of God, wherein a man is limited by God both in what worship he shall perform, and what worship he shall abstain from; here he is not left at liberty to obey what laws shall be made by man contrary hereunto?"

George Fox was still a prisoner in Lancaster Castle under the sentence or record of premunire. The arbitrary proceedings against him at the assizes being probably known, the justices, to avoid censure and disrepute, determined to procure his removal to some remote prison. In order to effect

their purpose, it seems, they set up some virulent, though groundless accusations to the king and council, and obtained an order from them to remove him from Lancaster, together with a letter from the Earl of Anglesey, stating, "That if those things were found true against him, with which he was charged, he deserved no mercy."

Previous to his removal, he desired to see his friends and relatives, but this was refused; several papists, however, were allowed to visit him, and they once affirmed in his presence, that the Pope was infallible, and had been so since St. Peter's time. This was denied, and George Fox alleged from history, that Marcellinus, one of the bishops of Rome, denied the faith, and sacrificed to idols; and therefore was not infallible. He also said,—“If the papists were in the infallible spirit, they would not maintain their religion by jails, swords, gallows, fires, racks, tortures, &c.; for if they were in the infallible spirit, they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons in the furtherance of religion.” By facts he also proved that it was the principle of the papists, to kill every one, if it were possible, who left their church.

“Will you declare this doctrine abroad?” inquired the papist.

“Yes,” said George Fox, “such things ought to be declared to the world, that it may be known how contrary your religion is to true Christianity.”

The member of the Roman Church left the prison in a rage, but soon returned, and said,—“All the Patriarchs were in hell, from the Creation until Christ came; and when he suffered, he went unto hell, and the devil said unto him, What comest thou hither for? to break open our strongholds? And Christ said, To fetch them all out! And Christ was three days and three nights in hell, to bring them all out.”

“It is false,” replied George Fox, “for Christ said to the thief on the cross, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. Enoch and Elijah were translated unto Heaven; Abraham

was in Heaven, for the Scriptures saith, that Lazarus was in his bosom, and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the mount, before he suffered."

His adversary did not reply to these strong arguments against the position in which he was unfortunately placed. At another time, the Governor of the Castle, in company with two or three members of Parliament, visited him, and asked him if he recognized ministers and bishops? "Yes," replied the prisoner, "such as Christ sends forth; those who have freely received and would freely give, and such as are qualified by the power and spirit of God, like the Apostles of old. But such bishops and teachers as yours are, that will go no farther than they have a great benefice, I do not own; for they are not like the Apostles. Christ said to his ministers—Go ye unto all nations, and preach the Gospel. But ye men of Parliament, that keep your priests in such fat benefices, ye have ruined them all; for do you think they will go unto all nations and preach, or will preach in any place without their pay? Judge for yourselves, whether they will or not."

After discussing several religious topics, they left the prison. In a few weeks he was removed from Lancaster to Scarborough Castle, his future prison. When they took him from the cold, wet, and smoky prison, he desired to see their order, insisting that he was not the king's prisoner, but the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew, he was not fully heard at the last assize, nor suffered to show the errors of the indictment, which were sufficient to make it powerless; there was no sentence of premunire; therefore, he was still the sheriff's prisoner, and they could not remove him without an order. During his journey, he suffered every kind of abuse from the guard, but at Giggleswick he was placed in the care of Lord Frecheville's troopers, who kindly admitted his friends to converse with him, and treated him with much civility. At Scarborough Castle he was denied all intercourse with his friends, though persons connected with other persuasions were admitted. One day, Dr. Cradock with three

priests, accompanied by the Governor and his wife, paid the prisoner a visit, and when the doctor asked him what he was in prison for, he replied, "For obeying the command of Christ and the Apostles, in not swearing; but if thee being both a doctor and justice of the peace, can convince me that after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I will swear. Here is a Bible, show me any such command if thou canst?"

"It is written, ye shall swear in truth and righteousness," said Cradock.

"Ay," said George Fox, "it was written so in Jeremiah's time, but that was many ages before Christ commanded, not to swear at all. But where is it written so since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances out of the Old Testament for swearing as thou, and it may be more too, but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the Apostle forbade it? Besides, where is it written, ye shall swear; was this said to the Gentiles? or to the Jews?"

"It was to the Jews," replied one of the priests.

"Very well," said George Fox, "but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature."

"Indeed," replied Cradock, "in the gospel time everything was to be established out of the mouth of two or three witnesses, and there was to be no swearing then."

"Why, then, dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thy own knowledge of gospel times? And why dost thou excommunicate my friends?"

"For not coming to church," answered Cradock.

"Why," said George Fox, "ye left us about twenty years ago, when we were but young, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. Now, we being but young, knew little then of your principles, and those that knew them should not have fled from us, but ye should have sent us your epistles or homilies;

for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison ; but we might have turned Turks or Jews for aught we had from you as instruction. And now ye have excommunicated us, that is, ye have put us out of your Church, before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. But what dost thou call the church ?”

“ That which you call the steeple house.”

“ Was Christ’s blood shed for a steeple house, and was it purified and sanctified by his blood ? And seeing the Church is Christ’s bride and his wife, and that he is the head of the Church, dost thou think the steeple house is Christ’s bride and wife ?”

“ No,” replied Cradock, “ Christ is the head of the people, and they are the Church.

“ But,” said George Fox, “ ye have given that title to an old house, which belongs to the people, and ye have taught the people to believe so.”

He also asked him some questions concerning tithes, but Cradock and his friends, unable to contend with his argument, and finding it was worse than folly to attempt to contradict the proofs which were produced from the scriptures, left the prison.

To the rigor and hardships of his imprisonment, his keepers added frequent menaces, in order to terrify him. The deputy governor once told him, “ That the king, knowing he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, so that if there should be any conspiracy in the nation, they could hang him over the wall.” To this menace, he replied, “ If that was what they desired, and they were permitted so to do, he was ready, for he never feared death or sufferings in his life ; but was known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from all plots, and one that sought the good of all men.”

His patience at length having surmounted the hardships and persecutions to which he was exposed, and his innocence pleading in his favor, his keepers gradually relented their severity, and finally became more favorable and respectful to him.

"After remaining a prisoner at Scarborough Castle about a year, he laid his case in writing before the king, in which he related the manner of his imprisonment and the severe treatment he had been forced to endure ; subjoining, that he was informed no man had power to deliver him, except the king. His friend Esquire March, who said he would walk an hundred miles barefoot to procure him his liberty, exerted his best endeavors to obtain the success of the application, and through the master of requests obtained the king's order for his release, the substance of which was, " that the king being certainly informed that George Fox was a man principled against plotting and fighting, and had been ready at all times to discover plots rather than make any, &c., therefore his royal pleasure was, that he should be released from his imprisonment." As soon as this order was obtained, it was delivered to the governor of Scarborough, who immediately discharged the prisoner with the following passport :

" Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this first day of September, 1666."

When George Fox received his release, as an acknowledgment for the civility and kindness that was lately shown him, he told the governor, " Whatever good he could do for him and his friends, would be cheerfully done, and he would never do them any hurt."



## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE Society of Friends suffered a loss of one of its worthy and zealous members, in the death of WILLIAM CATON, who died in the twelfth month [December] of this year, at Amsterdam. His life was devoted to the service of God, and his death was the triumph of the Christian faith. Of his religious disposition, convincement and qualifications for usefulness, the preceding pages amply testify, precluding the necessity of enlarging upon them at this place. Distinguished not only for his literary accomplishments and religious zeal, but remarkable for the courteousness and affability of his disposition, he won the love and esteem of all with whom he associated, not only in his native land, but in whatever country an all-wise Providence directed him to preach the eternal Word.

The following day after George Fox was released from Scarborough prison, the great fire broke out in the 1666. city of London, and in four days the greater part of the houses within its walls were destroyed. The plague had made fearful inroads among its inhabitants, and now the Avenger's hand converted their dwellings into ashes, and the citizens, in amazement, terror and despair, were forced to flee for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moorfields, where they lodged in temporary huts and tents. Many families, who lived in luxury and opulence, were reduced to poverty. But were they not warned? Did not Thomas Briggs, four years before this awful conflagration, preach repentance to the inhabitants, and cry through the streets, "Repent, oh London! like Nineveh, or God will destroy thee!" Were they not also forewarned by another remarka-

ble prediction from Thomas Ibbitt, of Huntingdonshire, who entered London a few days before this occurrence, and on the sixth and seventh days of the week, went through the streets, pronouncing a judgment by fire, which should lay waste the city. On the evening of these days, some of his friends had meetings with him, in order to inquire into the fact, whether he was called upon to pronounce that fearful judgment. He stated that he had a vision of the fire, and was commanded to go forth and warn the inhabitants. The next day, the first of the week, on the second of the ninth month [September], 1666, which immediately followed the two days of his warning, the fire commenced in Pudding-lane. Various were the conjectures formed concerning the causes and authors of this conflagration: many long and tedious investigations were made by the authorities, but all to no purpose; and why may we not safely acquiesce in the opinion of the most pious and religious of that age, who ascribed it to the visitation of Heaven upon a city shamelessly immersed in vice and immorality, and which had not been sufficiently humbled by the pestilence of the foregoing year?

The Bull and Mouth meeting-house being destroyed, the Friends continued to assemble at Wheeler-street, Peel, Devonshire-house, &c., and they had some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance until the city was in a great measure rebuilt. Their numbers increasing, they erected a new meeting-house in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street, which, from its central situation, became afterwards the place for holding their yearly meetings. Here, however, as well as at other points, they met with frequent disturbance from the trained bands and informers, who attacked the meetings and molested the members.

As soon as George Fox obtained his release, he proceeded as usual in his religious labors and services. He passed through part of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, visiting his friends, and holding many large meetings. Several attempts were made to arrest him again, but the designs

of the persecutors were frustrated. On passing through Whitby, he went to the residence of a priest, who fourteen years before had said, "If he ever met George Fox again, he would have his life, or George Fox should have his." He found that the priest's wife had become a Friend, and the priest himself favored the doctrine she had espoused. During his stay, they treated him very kindly, and he left them with regret. In this journey he established monthly meetings in several prominent places, and after his circuit through the counties, he returned to London: there he perceived the expediency of the monthly meetings taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, and therefore recommended, "That proposals of marriage should be laid before the men's monthly meetings, that Friends might see that the relations of those who proceeded to marriage were satisfied, that the parties were clear from other engagements, and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children before they married again; and whatever other inquiries were necessary for keeping all things clean and pure, in good order and righteousness, to the glory of God."

As persecution did not cease, Josiah Cole wrote the following warning to the king:

"King Charles. Let the people of God at liberty, who suffer imprisonments for the exercise of the conscience towards him; and give liberty of conscience to them to worship and serve him as he requireth, and leadeth them by his Spirit; or else his judgments shall not depart from thy kingdom, until thereby he hath wrought the liberty of his people, and removed their oppressions. And remember thou art once more warned by a servant of the Lord."

In this month also (the twelfth), Stephen Crisp published an epistle containing an exhortation to his friends, and also a prediction concerning succeeding times. We will make a few extracts:

"And concerning those succeeding times, the Spirit of the Lord hath signified, that there will be times of horror and

amazement, to all that have, and yet do reject his council; for as the days of his forbearance, warning and inviting, have been long, so shall his appearance amongst those that have withstood him, be fierce and terrible; even so terrible, as who shall abide his coming? For the Lord will work both secretly and openly, and his arm shall be manifest to his children in both.

“Secretly he shall raise up a continual fretting anguish among his enemies, one against another; so that being vexed and tormented inwardly, they shall seek to make each other miserable, and delight therein for a little season; and then the prevailer must be prevailed over, and the digger of the pit must fall therein; and the confidence that men have had one with another, shall fail; and they will beguile and betray one another, both by council and strength; and as they have banded themselves to break you, whom God hath gathered, so shall they band themselves one against another, to break, to spoil and destroy one another; and through the multitude of their treacheries, all credit or belief upon the account of their solemn engagement, shall fail; so that few men shall count themselves, or what is theirs, safe in the hands of a friend who hath not chosen his safety or friendship in the pure light of the unchangeable truth of God.

“Ah! my heart relents, and is moved within me in the sense of these things, and much more than I can write or declare, which the Lord will so do in the earth, and will also make haste to accomplish among the sons of men, that they may know and confess, that the Most High doth rule in the kingdoms of men, and pulleth down and setteth up according to his own will; and this shall men do before seven times pass over them, and shall be content to give their glory unto him that sits in Heaven.

“Oh! London! London! That thou and thy rulers would have considered and hearkened, in the day of thy warnings and invitations, and not have persisted in thy rebellion, till the Lord was moved against thee, to cut off the thousands and multitudes from thy streets, and the pressing and throng-

ing of the people from thy gates, and to destroy and ruin thy streets also, and lay desolate thy gates, when thou thoughtest to replenish them again.

“ Oh! my friends, with dear and tender love have I signified these things unto you, that ye might stand armed with the whole armor of God, clothed in righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; and freely given up in all things to the disposing of the Lord, who will deliver us, not by might, nor by the sword, but by his eternal, invisible arm, will he yet save us and deliver us, and get himself a name by preserving of us; and we shall yet live to praise him who is worthy of glory, of honor, and renown, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, now and for ever. Amen.”

In this year the regular business meetings or assemblies for the temporal affairs of the Church, were established at the most prominent places; and the first meeting for the regulation of the discipline was held at Skipton in Yorkshire. The nature and use of this meeting is described by George Fox in his Journal in the following manner: “ To this meeting came many Friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the Church, both in this nation and beyond the seas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they knew not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress; but after this meeting was set up, several Friends, who had been magistrates, and others who understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform Friends, and assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that might be laid before the justices, judges or Parliament. This meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw Friends’ books and accounts of collections for the relief of the poor; how we took care, one

county to help another, and help our friends beyond the sea, and provide for our poor that none of them should be a charge to their parishes, &c., the justices and officers confessed that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends' practice."

It appears this was a general meeting of the whole nation, held in a town of a central situation, the largest number of the Society, in the earliest times, being in the north. Meetings of discipline were established in each county, to be held quarterly, and afterwards were subdivided into several meetings, which order is continued to this day. The establishment of monthly meetings, however, did not occasion the abolition of quarterly meetings; but the former taking upon them the executive part of the discipline, which had before employed the latter, it appeared conducive to the general benefit that the quarterly meetings should still continue, in order to assist and give advice to the monthly meetings. A few years afterwards it was found expedient to hold a general meeting in London, in which should be represented all the meetings not only in England, but other countries, and as it was held annually ever afterwards, it was called the London yearly meeting.

Love, the characteristic of discipleship and unity, the bond of society, was cultivated with scrupulous care amongst them, and eminently distinguished them from most other bodies of men of that day; "It being (as William Penn testifies) a common remark, in the mouths of all sorts of people, concerning them, that they will meet, they will help and stick to one another—look how the Quakers take care of one another: and if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, a constant care to meet and worship God, and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it in an ample manner." In this age they had many skilful watchmen, foremost among whom was George Fox, who were diligent in detecting the approach of every danger from weakening or dissolving the bonds of amity and unity, and faithfully warning, and carefully guarding, the

different classes of the Society against the danger, self-pride, as we have seen in the case of James Nayler, and other cases of a similar kind, which are mentioned in the preceding pages. In all the proceedings of these early meetings, the members endeavored to exemplify the spirit of the gospel, which is love, and whenever any misconduct of a member was brought before the assembly, they condemned it honestly and sincerely; but the testimony of disunity contained no tincture of the spirit of the excommunications of the Roman hierarchy, nothing like an anathema, or curse; but in the pure spirit of Christianity, it offered up an earnest prayer for the repentance and salvation of the guilty one.

In the beginning of this year, a book was published in London, entitled, "Persecution appearing with its open face in William Armorer." It was written by some prisoners, who were confined in jail on account of their religion, and contained a relation of the persecutions of said Armorer, who, being a knight and justice of the peace, made it his business to disturb all meetings of the Friends, and whenever a chance occurred, arrest the members of the Society. From a number of cases noted in this book, we will select a few of the most interesting.

Armorer frequently disturbed meetings held at the house of Thomas Curtis, in Reading, and once he arrested at that place, thirty-four persons, who were brought to trial, and refused to take the oath. Among the prisoners was a man named Henry Pizing, who, coming to the bar with his hat in his hand, Judge Holt said, "Here's a man that hath some manners. Will you take the oath of allegiance?" continued the judge, addressing himself to Pizing.

"I have taken it twice already," replied the prisoner.

"You were no Quaker then," asked the judge.

"Neither am I now," was the reply, "but have been many weeks among them, and I never met with any hurt by them, but found them to be an honest and civil people."

Armorer, who had taken him prisoner, said, "Why did you not tell us so before?"

"Your worship was so wrathful, that you would not hear me."

The judge administered the oath again, which the prisoner took, and regained his liberty.

Thomas Curtis was then called to the bar, and asked if he would take the oath of allegiance.

"I do not refuse the oath on account of not bearing allegiance to the king," said the prisoner, "but because Christ has commanded us not to swear at all; and I think I am as good a subject to the king as any in the country; if I could take an oath to save his estate or life, I would do it. Will the court allow some of their ministers to show me by the Scriptures, how the oath might be taken so as not to break the command of Christ?"

The judge called upon Priest Worrel to satisfy Curtis on that point. But the careful priest, taking off his hat and bowing to the court, desired to be excused, because the Quakers were such obstinate people they would not be satisfied with the most conclusive proof.

"Ay," said Curtis, "this is commonly the answer we have from these men, when they are desirous to answer us a question according to the Scripture; for when we make it appear that they give no satisfactory answer to the question, they say, we are obstinate."

Curtis was also imprisoned again by Armorer, without a mittimus, whilst on his road to the Bristol fair. Three women whom he had cast into the House of Correction, were ordered to pay a fine for attending a meeting, but one of them, Anne Harrison, said, "Thou hast got our house already, and hast taken away our means; and wouldst thou have me pay more money when I have broken no law? Only four above sixteen years old were collected together, and the act says there must be more than four."

"My man told me there were six; and two of them ran away," replied Armorer.

"It is false," said Anne, "there was Frances Kent, but



she, being a midwife, was taken out of town, and there was no sixth person present."

"I will have Mrs. Kent," said Armorer, "and let the best lady in the land want her, she shall not go except the king and court send for her."

About this time, a Popish author published a book, called, "The Reconciler of Religions; or, A Decider of all Controversies in matters of Faith." Josiah Cole, ever zealous in the cause of religion, answered this work in a book, entitled, "The Whore Unveiled; or, the Mystery of the Deceit of the Church of Rome revealed." The first book was written principally against the Quakers, and sadly perverted their doctrine, in such a manner, as to import, that the same spirit which reproved Judas of sin, did also force him to hang himself, in a fit of desperation. "For the Roman," said he, "is the true Church, and not any other; she is the holy Catholic and Apostolical, that is infallible, and could not err, and has the power to work miracles. She is one in matters of faith, governed by one invisible Head, Christ, and by a visible head, the Pope, and therefore she is the true Church." The superstition, idolatry, and cruel persecution of the Roman Church, supplied abundant matter to prove it was false in faith and doctrine. He did not deny that the true Church was Catholic, or universal, yet he denied that the universality of the Church of Rome was a sufficient argument to prove her to be the true Church.

Richard Farnsworth took sick and died in London during this year: he was an eloquent and gifted minister, and on his death-bed gave strong evidences of his firm and steadfast trust in God. He directed the following epistle to his friends:

"God hath been mighty with me, and hath stood by me at this time; and his power and presence hath accompanied me all along, though some think I am under a cloud for something; but God hath appeared for the owning of our testimony, and hath broken in upon me as a flood, and I am filled with his love more than I am able to express."

As several eminent members of the Society were snatched away by death, others were called upon to supply their loss, in conducting the great work of God. ROBERT BARCLAY was the son of Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, near Aberdeen, descended from the Barclays of Mathers, in Scotland, and of Catharine Gordon, from the house of the Duke of Gordon. He was born in Edinburgh in 1648, and received the rudiments of his education among the Calvinists of his own country, which was finished at Paris, where he resided some years with a relation. His uncle being president of the Scotch College of Paris, he was instructed in the classics, and attained a proficiency in many other branches of science.

The Papists taking advantage of the immaturity of his judgment, endeavored to make a proselyte of him. Their entreaties at that tender age made some impression upon him; but as his judgment ripened, he soon clearly discovered the errors of their religious system. He returned home in 1664, then sixteen years of age; and during his absence, his father having joined the Society of Friends, he impressed the excellence of that religion upon his son, by his circum-spect example and religious conversation. This, together with observations in regard to the conduct of others of that profession, made an impression on his mind which produced a remarkable consistency in his life. Under this impression, he was induced to attend the religious meetings of the Friends, and of his conviction we have an account in his "Apology." "It was not by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and conviction of my understanding, that I came to receive and bear witness of the truth; but by being secretly reached by the principle of light and life to which they were gathered; for when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them, which touched my heart; and as I gave way to it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united unto them,

hungering more and more after this power and life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed."

It was in this year he became thoroughly convinced, and made public profession of the principles of the Society: taking up his cross, he esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, and manifested to the world that the contemptible situation in which they had placed that Society could not deter him from following, owning, and defending Truth, wherever it was found. He possessed a clear comprehension, a depth of thought, a close and convincing manner of reasoning, which, although plain and unaffected, placed him in bold relief, as the champion against the opponents and slanderers of the Society. By means of his essays, and those of William Penn, together with the contemporary writers, George Whitehead, Thomas Elwood, Isaac Pennington, and others, the Society, hitherto exposed to contempt and odium, by the misrepresentations of their adversaries, began to assume a more prepossessing appearance, whereby the candid and dispassionate part of mankind freely admitted that it was no absurd combination of wild ideas, but a profound system of important, rational, and practical truths. Not that they introduced any new doctrines, or modelled a new system of principles; but through a candid exposition of their doctrine, they proved it to be based upon the rock of salvation.

The conversion of Roger Haydock, of Lancashire, on account of its peculiarity deserves a passing notice. His elder brother, John, having joined their communion, occasioned considerable uneasiness to his mother, who was a zealous Presbyterian; and when Roger came to his father's house, he being reputed a learned and intelligent man, she prevailed on him to use his endeavors in convincing his brother of the absurdity of his choice of worship, and dissuade him from persisting in it. They both entered upon the discussion with great spirit; but John, giving very cogent reasons for his change, he succeeded in silencing his brother in regard to his objections. On his mother's inquiry for the reason

of his silence, he replied, "My brother's arguments are true, and I cannot gainsay them." He not only made an acknowledgment of the truth, but also a public profession; and in a short time became an eminent minister of the Faith.

Miles Halhead travelling this year in Devonshire, was taken up before a magistrate and was asked why he, who lived in Westmoreland, had come into Devonshire.

"I have come to see some old friends, who resided in the place about ten years ago," replied Halhead.

"Who were your old friends," demanded the magistrate.

"Sir John Coplestone, who was once high-sheriff of Devonshire; John Page, who was mayor of Plymouth; Justice Howel, who was a judge in the Exeter sessions; and Colonel Buffet, who was then a justice of the peace," said the prisoner.

"Truly, gentlemen," remarked one of the magistrates, "though this man call these his friends, yet they have been his persecutors." Another of the magistrates then gave him an account of the disasters which had befallen all of them, and how their estates had been confiscated. One of them had been imprisoned for high treason, but escaped from jail and fled the country; "if these men were your persecutors," he continued, "you may be sure they will trouble you no more; for if they that persecute you, have no better fortune than these men, I wish that neither I nor any of my friends may have any hand in persecuting you."

The Earl of Clarendon, prime minister to King Charles, and reputed to have been the chief instrument in inflicting severities on the dissenters by the penal laws, about this time lost his influence and became obnoxious to the whole country,—and he who had been instrumental in the imprisonment and banishment of innocent persons, was at last condemned to banishment on account of almost groundless accusations.

In the latter part of this year the Perpetual Edict was made in Holland, for the maintenance of liberty, for the preservation of unity, and the common peace of the country of Hol-

land and West Friesland. By this edict, the chief command of the military forces of the States, and the Stadtholdership, were separated. This was followed by the suppression of the office of Stadtholder, in order to contract the increasing power of the Prince of Orange.

We are forced to pass by many occurrences which took place during the frequent journeys of George Fox to all parts of the country; he was constantly forming new meetings and introducing the necessary regularity for their government; and as a faithful minister, he humbly, but zealously, discharged that duty which God had assigned him in his vineyard.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

IN the beginning of this year, WILLIAM PENN began to attract particular attention, on account of his firm adherence to the principles of the Society of Friends.

He was born in London on the twenty-fourth of the eighth month [August], 1644. His father, Sir William Penn, in the time of the Commonwealth, held the highest office of the navy, Rear Admiral, Vice Admiral, Admiral of Ireland, and Vice Admiral of England;—all of which he discharged with honor and fidelity. He retained his post after the restoration, was knighted by Charles Second, and was distinguished as a favorite by the Duke of York. The promising prospect he entertained of his son's advancement, justified him in paying more than usual attention to his education, and at the age of fifteen he was entered a student in Christ Church College in Oxford. At a meeting of the Society of Friends in that place, he received some relish for pure and spiritual religion, and the ministry of THOMAS LOE impressed him with an ardent desire to experience the truth of the doctrines. He, with several other students, withdrew from public worship, and held private meetings, where they preached and prayed among themselves. At the age of sixteen, he was fined for non-conformity; but this punishment not abating the fervor of his zeal, he was at length expelled from college. His father sent him to France, in company with a party of fashionables, who were making a tour to that country. He continued in the gay and volatile society of Paris, until his mind was diverted from the serious thoughts of religion. On his return, his father found him not only proficient in the French language, but polite and courtly in his beha-

vior, and his genteel carriage procured him the character of an accomplished young gentleman. But amidst the caresses and flatteries of men, he became dissatisfied with his mode of life, and often his own conscience would remind him of his former seriousness and good resolutions; though guilty of nothing which the world terms criminal, yet, by the light with which his mind was illuminated, he was sensible he had lost ground; as to the attainment of that inward purity of heart, in which he had seen the substance of religion to consist. His natural inclination, his lively and active disposition, his acquired accomplishments, his father's favor, the respect of his friends and acquaintance, were so many strong incentives to embrace the glory and pleasures of the world, then even courting his acceptance; and mountains of opposition in his way to adopt that pure religion, which might endanger his relinquishment of them all. This seemed almost insurmountable, but the earnest supplication of his heart being to the Lord for the salvation of his soul, He was pleased to grant him such a portion of his grace and good spirit, as enabled him in due time to overcome all opposition, to brave all reproaches and persecutions, and to form a determined resolution to take up the cross of Christ.

In the year 1666, his father having committed to his care and management a large estate in Ireland, he went over to that island. When he arrived at the city of Cork, he went to hear Thomas Loe, who began to preach from the following words: "There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world." Being an eloquent and energetic minister, he converted young Penn, who joined the Society, and attended their meetings constantly. A nobleman informed his father that his son was a "proselyte to Quakerism," who remanded him home. On his return, his father did not observe any great alteration in his dress, yet the seriousness of his deportment, and his anxiety of mind, were manifest indications of the truth of the information he had received. Strenuous efforts were made to cause him to forsake the course he was about to pursue, which would dis-

appoint all his father's sanguine hopes, and baffle his fond schemes of seeing him advanced in court; although his son felt all the force of natural affection and filial duty, and would not have offended him in any case wherein the peace of his conscience was not concerned, yet he could not comply with the requisitions of his earthly father, in those things which were contrary to the will of his Father in heaven.

His father could endure his presence no longer, but turned him out of doors and forced him to subsist on the charity of his friends. He endured all these heart-rending trials with Christian patience and magnanimity, and evinced the sincerity of his profession by relinquishing every worldly prospect, in order to attain the favor of Heaven.

George Fox made a tour through England and Wales during the summer, and when he returned to London, he paid a visit to his old friend, Esquire March, who was a justice of peace in Middlesex. He was at dinner, with several priests and persons in authority, when George Fox entered, but the good minister courteously excused himself when his friend kindly invited him to sit down and partake of the meal. Understanding that the visitor was a "Quaker," one of the guests (a papist) asked him, whether he believed in the christening of children.

"There is no scripture for such a practice," replied George Fox.

"What!" exclaimed the papist, "not for christening children?"

"Nay," said George Fox; "the one baptism by the one spirit, into one body, we own; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and to call that baptizing and christening it, we have no scripture for."

"Do you own the Catholic Faith?" inquired the believer in the Roman doctrine.

"Yes," replied George Fox; "but neither the Pope nor the papists are in the Catholic faith: the true faith is worked by love, and purifies the heart; and if you are in that faith which gives victory, and access to God, you would not talk



to the people of a purgatory after death ; neither would you use prisons, racks, and fires, to force others to adopt your religion. This was not the practice of the Apostles and primitive Christians, but it was introduced by the Jews and Heathens. I desire to know of thee, what it is that bringeth salvation in your Church ?”

“ A good life,” said the papist.

“ And nothing else ?” inquired George Fox.

“ And good works.”

“ Is this your doctrine and principles ?”

He replied in the affirmative. “ Then,” remarked George Fox, “ neither thou, nor the Pope, nor any of the papists, know what it is that bringeth salvation.”

“ What brings salvation in your Church ?” inquired the Roman Catholic.

“ That which brought salvation in the Church in the Apostles’ days,” was the reply ; “ namely, the grace of God, which, the Scripture says, brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men ; and teaches us to deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to live godly, righteously, and soberly in the world. By this it appears, it is not the good works or the good life that brings salvation, but the grace of God.”

After some other conversation on this subject, George Fox called March aside, in order to make arrangements to prevent the persecution of some Friends. March was not averse to this, but said, he was in a dilemma how to act towards other dissenters, since they did not swear.

“ I will show thee how to distinguish,” said George Fox, “ the other dissenters do swear in some cases, but we never swear under any circumstance. If any one should steal their cows or horses, thou shouldst ask them whether they would swear the cattle were theirs ? Many of them will readily do it. But if thou triest our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. When the oath is tendered, ask them whether they can swear in any other case ; if they belong to our Society they will answer in the negative, if not, in the affirmative.”

George Fox then gave him a relation of a trial of a thief in Berkshire, who, having stolen two beasts from a member of the Friends, was imprisoned in the county jail. The judge, being informed that the person who prosecuted was a "Quaker," would not hear his evidence without he took the oath. This he refused to do; the oath of allegiance and supremacy was then tendered, which he also refused, and the judge premunired him and let the thief go free.

Esquire March did not omit to allay the spirit of persecution in the section of the country in which he held his office, and, although he could not avoid sending some to prison, yet it was but for a few hours, or one day. Even this rendered him so unhappy that he told the king he had sent some of the Quakers to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could do so no more.

In this year a young woman of Edmondsbury, having destroyed her natural child, was committed to prison to answer the charge at the next sessions of the county court. Here she was converted to the doctrine of Friends, by William Bennet, who was in the same prison for refusing to take the oath, and from a most grievous sinner she became a true penitent. At her trial, Judge Matthew Hale, taking an interest in her unhappy situation, caused the indictment to be written in such a manner as would force the jury to bring her in "not guilty." But she somewhat astonished the good judge, when she pleaded guilty of the crime, and he told her that she did not duly consider what she said; since it could not be believed that a young woman like her would kill her child wilfully and designedly. The judge wished to show her a chance of escape, but the fear of God was strong in her heart; fig-leaves would not hide her wickedness, and she relied alone on the spirit of God. Then she plainly said to the Court;—"I did commit the act to hide my shame. I have sinned most grievously, and now in the hour of true repentance, I can by no means excuse myself, but am willing to undergo the punishment the law requires. How could I expect the forgiveness of God, if I denied my guilt?"

Judge Hale shed tears at this undisguised and free confession, and addressed her in the following manner ;—"Woman, such a case as this I never met before ; perhaps you who are but young, and speak so piously, as being struck to the heart with repentance, might yet do some good in the world ; but now you force me, since you admit of no excuse, to pronounce sentence of death against you."

When she came to her place of execution, she made a speech to those gathered around, exhorting them, and especially the young, "to have the fear of God before their eyes ; to give heed to his secret reproofs for evil, and not grieve and resist the good spirit of the Lord ; which she herself not having timely minded, it had made her run in evil, and thus proceeding from wickedness to wickedness, it had at last brought her to this dismal exit. But since she firmly trusted to God's infinite mercy, nay, surely believed her sins, though of a bloody dye, to be washed off by the pure blood of Christ, she could contentedly leave the world."

Thus she preached on the gallows the doctrine of Truth, and gave convincing proof that, like the thief on the cross, she should soon join her Saviour in Paradise.

Thomas Loe died this year in London. He was a man of fine temper ; easy, affable and pleasing in conversation, and benevolent in his disposition ; he gained the affection and esteem of all persons with whom he associated. He visited Ireland several times, where he preached to large gatherings, and converted many to the belief of the Society of Friends. His pious departure from the scene of his labors was consistent with the even tenor of his life ; resulting from the excellent line of conduct he had early marked out for his own good, and the glory of God. Whilst on his death-bed, he was visited by William Penn, whom he converted in Cork, and in whom he took especial interest. "Bear thy cross and stand faithful to God," said the dying man ; "then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no way which shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God

hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him, for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay my cup runs over; glory be to his name for ever!"

This dying testimony to the virtue of that grace and truth which obtains the victory over death, was a comfort and confirming evidence to William Penn, of the solidity of that religion which he had, against much opposition, embraced as the road to eternal salvation. At another time, he said to his friends at his bed-side, "Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart." And to George Whitehead and others, he said, "The Lord is good to me; this day he hath covered me with his glory. I am weak, but am refreshed to see you." Another friend asking how he was, he answered, "I am near leaving you, I think; but am as well in my spirit as I can desire. I bless the Lord; I never saw more of the glory of God, than I have done this day." Thus rejoicing in hope till his end, his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that Almighty Being whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in the end.

Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister, became highly offended because some of the members of his Church had become convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Friends, and joined the Society. He accused them of holding erroneous doctrine in regard to the Trinity, because they did not approve of some expressions which were not to be found in the Bible. On this subject a dispute was held in the Presbyterian Church of London; Thomas Vincent taking one side, and George Whitehead the other. The first accusation brought against the Quakers was, "That they held a most damnable doctrine," which was denied by George Whitehead; but before they would give him time to prove it, was false, Vincent said, "Do you own one Godhead, subsisting in three distinct and separate persons?"

Whitehead said it was an unscriptural doctrine, and Vincent framed this syllogism:

“ There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.

“ There are either three manifestations, three operations, three substances, or three something else beside subsistences:

“ But they are not three manifestations, three operations, three substances, not three anythings else beside subsistences.

“ Ergo, three substances.”

George Whitehead rejected these terms because they were not found in Scripture, not deducible from 1 John v. 8, the place Vincent instanced, and said, “ I desire an explanation of these terms, inasmuch as God did not use to wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language.”

“ No better explanation could be procured than the mystery of his syllogism.”

George Whitehead and William Penn who was also there, quoted several passages from Scriptures, proving God's complete unity. William Penn denied the minor proposition of Vincent's syllogism; “ For,” said he, “ no one substance can have three distinct subsistences and preserve its own unity; for every substance will have its own subsistence; so that three distinct substances, or manners of being, will require three distinct subsistences or beings, consequently, three Gods; for if the Godhead subsists in three separate manners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and complete subsistence without the other two; so parts, and something finite, is in God, or, if infinite, then three distinct infinite subsistences; and what is this but to assert three Gods, since none is infinite, but God? On the contrary, there being an inseparability betwixt the substance and its subsistence, the unity of substance will not admit a Trinity of uncommunicable or distinct subsistences.”\*

To make this strange doctrine somewhat clearer, George Whitehead compared their three persons to three Apostles; and said, “ He did not understand how Paul, Peter, and John, could be three persons and one Apostle.”

A man named Maddocks, one of Vincent's followers,

\* This discussion is taken verbatim from Sewel's History.

said, "He that scornfully and reproachfully compares our doctrine of the blessed Trinity, of Father, Son, and Spirit, one in essence, but three in person, to three finite men, as Paul, Peter, and John, is a blasphemer, and you, George Whitehead, have done so."

Whether this was a rash conclusion or otherwise, the judicious reader will determine. This dispute made quite a sensation in London, and soon after its termination, William Penn published a book, entitled, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," in which he calmly and clearly explained the points controverted, and defended his position with strong and judicious argument, together with passages from the Holy Scripture. This work gave great offence to some powerful ecclesiastics, who soon applied their accustomed method of refuting what they termed error, by imprisoning the author in the Tower. Here he was placed in close confinement, and even denied the visits of his friends; but his enemies did not attain their purpose. On being informed that the Bishop of London was resolved he should either publicly recant or die in prison, he determined not to yield the least compliance in violation of his conscience, and his prison should be his grave, if his freedom depended on the retraction of one tittle of what he believed to be right. Precluded from the opportunity of promoting piety by his ministerial labors, he was not unmindful of the great purpose of his life, and applied himself diligently to writing several works, which were published by his friends in London. It was in the Tower he wrote that excellent treatise, "No Cross, no Crown," a book tending to promote the general design of religion, which went through several editions. In order to clear himself from the aspersions cast upon him on account of his doctrine in relation to the Trinity, he published a small tract, called, "Innocency with her Open Face," in which he successfully vindicated himself, and was released from prison, after a confinement of seven months.

Another, one of the faithful followers of Christ, Josiah Coale, was called upon to give up his stewardship during

this year, after leading a life of uprightness, usefulness, and godliness. Having travelled through some parts of America, the West Indies, Holland, and England, suffering many hardships and imprisonments; and his zealous ministerial services for the space of twelve years, wasted his strength, and finished an honorable and virtuous life by a gradual decline. During his sickness George Fox visiting him, inquired whether he had anything to say to his friends in England. He replied, that he had discharged his duty fully in his travels amongst them, and had nothing more to leave them, except his love and the blessing of God. An eloquent prayer was offered up to Heaven at his bed-side, by George Fox, and the dying man turning his eyes upon his weeping friends around, said, in a voice of tenderness: "Well, Friends, be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory, and seek nothing for yourselves or your own glory; and if anything of that kind arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord God, that ye may be clear in his sight, and answer his witness in all people: then will ye have the reward of life. For my part, I have walked in faithfulness with the Lord. His majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me: so mind my love to all my friends." To Stephen Crisp he said: "Dear heart, keep low in the holy seed of God, and that will be thy crown for ever." In a short time he fainted, and fell into the arms of his friends, where, without a sigh or groan, he passed into the sleep of death, to be awakened only by the trump of the archangel.

Francis Howgill was one of the most active among the first promulgators of the doctrine of the Society of 1669. Friends; and his qualifications, his virtues, his services, and his sufferings, have been laid before the reader in several parts of this history. In the year 1661, he suffered imprisonment, with a great many of his friends, in London, in consequence of the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy men. After he was released, he continued his labors until the year 1663, when he was summoned to appear before the magistrates at Kendal, as before related, and in con-

sequence premunired and imprisoned for life. On the twentieth of the first month [January] he finished his course on earth in Appleby prison, after a sickness of nine days. During his illness, he was often heard to say: "I am content to die, and praise God for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshments I have received, even in my prison-bed, and I freely forgive all who placed me here. This is the place of my first imprisonment; and if it be the place of laying down the body, I am content." Two days before his death, his wife and friends being present, he addressed them in the following language:—"Friends: As to matter of words, you must not expect much more from me, neither is there any great need of it: as to speak to matters of faith to you, who are satisfied, only that you remember my dear love to all Friends who inquire of me, for I ever loved Friends well, and any others in whom truth appeared; and truly God will own his people, as he hath ever hitherto done, and as we have daily witnessed; for no sooner had they passed that act against us for banishment, to the great suffering of many good friends, than the Lord stirred up enemies, even three great nations, whereby the violence of their hands was taken off. As for me, I am well, and content to die; I am not at all afraid of death. And truly one thing I have observed, which is, that this generation passeth away—many good and valuable friends have been within these few years taken from us, and therefore you have need to watch, and be faithful, so that we may leave a good and not a bad favor to the succeeding generation; for you see, it is but a little time that any of us have to stay here." His voice became weak, but recovering, he said, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know that I die in the faith in which I lived and suffered for." In the fiftieth year of his age, he departed this life, in perfect peace with God, and in full hope of a glorious immortality. Some time before his decease, he made his will, in which he bequeathed a token of his affectionate remembrances to



several of his brethren and fellow-laborers in the ministry. He also left a legacy to the poor Friends living in that section of the country in which he dwelt. Although his personal estate was forfeited to the king for ever, the confiscation of his real estate was only during life.

As his last will and testament to his daughter, he wrote her an epistle of advice and council in regard to her conduct through life, which contains many reflections useful for the mind of the young. The entire letter is therefore transcribed :

“ DAUGHTER ABIGAIL :

“ This is for thee to take heed unto and observe, for the regulating thy conversation in this world, so that thy life may be happy and thy end blessed, and God glorified by thee in thy generation. I was not heir to great possessions ; but the Lord hath endowed me with a competency, and hath been as a tender father to me, because I trusted in him, and loved righteousness from a child.

“ My counsel to thee is, that thou remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, fear him and serve him all thy days ; first, seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof. Though thou be born into the world a reasonable creature, yet thou must be born again into God’s image. Seek and thou shalt find ; wait and thou shalt receive. If thou ask, In what and how must I seek and wait ? I inform thee that thou must silence all thy own thoughts ; and thou must turn thy mind to that which is holy, and good within thyself, the light of Jesus Christ, wherewith thou art enlightened, which shows thee when thou dost evil, and cheeks and reproves thee for it. Take heed unto that, and it will show thee evil notions or thoughts ; and as thou lovest it, it will subdue them, and preserve thee for the time to come out of the evil ; and thou wilt feel thy heavenly Father working in thee and begetting thee unto life, and thou wilt feel the power of the Lord strengthening thee in thy little, and making thee grow in the immortal feed, and outgrow all evil, so that thou wilt daily die to it, and take no pleasure in it, but in the Lord,

and his goodness and virtue shed abroad in thy heart. Love the Lord with thy heart and soul, even him that made thee, and gave being to thee, and all things in heaven and on earth. And do thou inquire of thy dear mother, she will inform thee, she knows Him, and the way to life and peace ; and hearken to her instructions.

“ Besober-minded in thy youth, and delight to read the Scriptures and books written by Friends, and take heed what thou readeſt, to conform thy practice thereto, as far as thou underſandeſt, and pray often to the Lord, that he will increaſe thy knowledge in his law and open thy underſtanding in the things of his kingdom. God is a ſpirit of light, life and power ; He it is that ſearcheth the heart, and ſhows thee when thou haſt done evil ; that which ſhows thee evil is good, and that which ſhows a lie is truth ; this is within, take heed to it ; this is called God’s Spirit in the ſcripture, believe in it, love it, and it will quicken thy heart to good, and it will ſubject the evil. Here is thy teacher near thee ; love it, and if thou act contrary, it will condemn thee ; therefore take heed unto this ſpirit of truth, and it will enlighten and enliven thee, and will open thy underſtanding, and give thee to know what God is, and to do that which is good and acceptable in his ſight ; this ſpirit never errs, but leads out of all error into all truth. Search thy heart often by the light of Chriſt in thee ; bring thy deeds to it, that they may be tried thereby, and examine thyſelf, how the caſe ſtands between the Lord and thee ; and if thee feels conviction for any wrong thing, regard the reproofs of inſtruction, they are the ways of life ; humble thyſelf in ſorrow, and turn unto the Lord, and he will ſhow thee mercy ; and take heed for the time to come, that thou doſt not run into the ſame evil again ; keep thy heart clean ; watch againſt the evil in thyſelf, in that which ſhows it, wherein there is power, and thereby thou haſt power to overcome all evil.

“ Dear child, avoid ſensual and ſinful pleaſures, which are but tranſient delights, terminating in miſery ; but keep under the croſs to the carnal will and affections ; avoid evil and

loose company, for evil communications corrupt good manners ; and associate with those who fear the Lord, who worship in spirit and in truth, whose lives are holy and exemplary, and whose conversation is pure and blameless.

“And now, Abigail, as to thy well-being in this life, this is my advice and counsel unto thee;—love thy dear mother, ever obey and honor her, and see thou grieve her not; be not stubborn or wilful, but submissive to her instructions, and obedient to her commands, whose love hath been too great over thee and thy sisters, which hath brought too much trouble upon herself. Do thou always live with her, and be a help unto her, and cherish her in her advanced years, that she may be comforted in thee, and her soul may bless thee. Love thy sisters, and be always courteous to them and thy brother; encourage one another to do good. Learn in thy youth to read, write, sew, knit, and all points of honest labor, and good housewifery, that become a maid, and as thou growest up in years, labor in the country. Flee idleness and sloth, as the nourishers of evil, and beware of pride and vain curiosity; be well content with such apparel as thy mother will permit thee, as thou mayest be a good example to others. And if thee lives to be a woman, keep thyself unspotted, and let not thy mind out after vain sports and pastimes; the end of all these is sorrow. And in thy conversation with young men be very discreet, and watchful over thy affections, so as not to be unwarily drawn into any imprudent or unhappy attachment. Preserve the modesty of thy sex inviolate, and if thy inclination is to marry, seek not a husband, but let a husband seek thee. If thou livest in the fear of God, and lead an honest and virtuous life, they that fear God will seek thee. Do not give thy affections to every one that offers, but be very considerate, and above all things (if thou dost marry) choose a religious man; and make thyself thoroughly acquainted with his conversation and course of life before thou give consent. Be discreet and wise, hide nothing from thy mother, and if she be living, marry not without her consent. And if thee joins thyself to an husband, let it be thy especial

care to preserve thy affection to him unimpaired; be compliant to his desire, and honor him before all; give him no occasion of uneasiness or dissatisfaction, but be gentle and easy to be entreated, and mind thy own business; by these means thou wilt engage his heart, and increase his affection for thyself. And if the Lord gives thee children, bring them up in his fear, and in useful employment, that thou mayst be favored with the Lord's blessing in thy youth, in thy advancing years, and all thy life long. These things I give thee in charge to observe, as my mind and will and counsel unto thee, unalterable.

“Thy dear Father,

“FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

## CHAPTER XXV.

PERSECUTION for religion seemed to have subsided, and more liberal sentiments were adopted by the moderate party of the leading churchmen. In the spring, George Fox went to York and several places in the north of England, but passed on his way unmolested by his old enemies. In company with Thomas Briggs and John Stubs, he went to Ireland, and was received kindly by his friends in Dublin; but in his journey through the country, he met with no small opposition from the Papists, who were very numerous. At Cork, he made an effort to release some prisoners, who were confined in jail on account of their religion, but failed, on account of the obduracy of the mayor. He went to many other places in the kingdom, but soon returned to Dublin, and sailed again for England. At Bristol he met Margaret Fell, then on a visit to her daughter, to whom he made an offer of marriage. He called her children together, and asked their consent, which being readily granted, they were married at a public meeting of Friends in Bristol.

The Duke of Buckingham succeeding Clarendon in the station of prime minister, he showed more lenity to 1670. the non-conformists than his predecessor had done, and suffered them to hold their meetings without molestation.

The king, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, expressed his desire that they would take into serious deliberation the means of effecting an union amongst all his Protestant subjects, whereby they might be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but cheerfully give their assistance to its support. But the majority of the House of

Commons, under the influence of the same party spirit which had stimulated them to enact the severe laws of this reign, appeared much disturbed, and in return petitioned the king to issue a proclamation for the enforcement of the laws against conventicles, and for preserving the peace of the kingdom against unlawful assemblies of Papists and non-conformists. The king accordingly issued the proclamation; but it was not attended with very serious consequences, for the dissenters, who, to avoid persecution, had usually met clandestinely, now appeared more openly, and ventured to assemble publicly for religious worship. A scheme was set on foot for comprehending the Presbyterians in the body of the established Church, and granting toleration to other dissenters. Lord Chief Justice Hale volunteered to draw up a bill for this purpose, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman to support it with all his interest in Parliament. This somewhat alarmed the bishops; and Archbishop Sheldon wrote a circular letter to his suffragans, enjoining them to make a minute inquiry in relation to the conventicles in their respective dioceses. Having received all the information he could procure, he exaggerated every circumstance to the king, and obtained from his easy nature a new proclamation, to put the laws in force against the non-conformists, and particularly against the preachers, according to the statute of 17 Car. II., which prohibits their residing in corporations. The Parliament, upon their meeting after the prorogation, seconded the efforts of the bishops, and adhered to the king in supporting the present union of Church and state, against all adversaries.

The former act against conventicles, which had condemned so many to banishment, having expired in the session of Parliament held this year, they proceeded to make a third act against them; but having found repeated and long imprisonments, and even banishment, ineffectual in deterring Friends from collecting for the worship of God, they resolved to try the effect of impoverishing them; and like the persecutor of Job, they used various modes to accomplish their pur-

poses. The title of this act was, "An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles." It was an iniquitous law; a flagrant violation of the established privileges of the people of England; it destroyed the bulwark of liberty—the trial by jury—and contrary to the Magna Charta—gave one single officer the power to fine, convict, or imprison, any offender! The English historians endeavor to palliate the severity of this law, by alleging that politics and the cares of the government were the occasion of passing it, more than anything concerning religion. Echard, according to Neale, says; "That this and all the penal laws made against the dissenters, were the acts of the Parliament, and not of the Church, and were made more on a civil and political, than upon a moral and religious account, and always upon some fresh provocation, in reality or appearance."

Although the penal laws were the acts of the Parliament, as no other body had the power of making laws, yet it would be a difficult undertaking to exculpate the established Church. The Bishop of Peterborough declared in the church of Rowel, "That this law hath done its business, with all fanatics, except the Quakers; but when the Parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them as bond-slaves."

Ward, of Salisbury, and Gunning, of Ely, are also said to have been very zealous abettors of this severity, though many of the bishops had the prudence to allow the odium of the law to rest upon the civil magistrates. Thomas Elwood informs us; "That some of the clergy, of most ranks, and others, who were excessively bigoted to that party, used their utmost efforts to find out and encourage the most profligate wretches, to turn informers; and get such persons into parochial offices as would be most obsequious to their directions, and prompt at their beck, to put this law into the most rigorous execution."

George Fox being in London during the passage of this Act, published a pamphlet, setting forth the injustice of the

law, in order, if possible, to keep the government from the execution of its penalties. He also wrote an epistle to his friends, exhorting them to faithfulness, to be true to their testimony, and bear with Christian patience the sufferings they would have to endure. On the first First-day that the law was put into effect, George Fox went to Gracechurch street meeting, but he found the street full of people, and a guard to keep them out of the meeting-house; at Lombard street he also found a guard, but one of their ministers was addressing a crowd of people in a court before the door. George Fox arose to address the assembly, but a constable and informer, with the aid of some soldiers, pulled him down; and as they committed this rash act, the good man only exclaimed—"Blessed are the peace-makers." He was taken before the lord mayor, who said; "Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man among those of your own profession; pray will you be instrumental in persuading them from meeting in such great numbers? Christ hath promised, where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them; and the king and Parliament are graciously pleased to allow four to meet together to worship God; why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?"

George Fox answered him in the following manner: "Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name, but to encourage the few, so that they might not forbear to meet on account of numbers. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst of so small an assembly, how much more would his presence abound where two or three hundred are gathered in his name! I wish thee to consider whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples (if it had been in their time), who used to meet often together, and that, with great numbers? However, this act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings—of such as met, under pretence of religion, to contrive insurrection; but we have been sufficiently



tried and proved, and always found peaceable; and therefore he should do well, to put a difference between the innocent and guilty. May we not read the Scriptures, and speak the Scriptures? Is the Liturgy according to the Scriptures?"

"Yes," replied the mayor.

"This act takes hold only of such as meet to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shown; but you have never experienced that from us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest people meet to do good?"

The informer against him being a papist, somewhat excited the people, and he was forced to make his escape, without appearing against the prisoner, who was set at liberty. In this year George Fox had a severe sickness, which rendered him for some time both blind and deaf, and although his friends despaired of him, yet in a few months he grew better.

In the ninth month [September], William Penn and William Mead were taken from a meeting, and imprisoned. The indictment set forth, "That William Penn and William Mead, with divers other persons to the number of three hundred, were tumultuously assembled together with force and arms, at Gracechurch street, in the City of London, on the fifteenth of September; and that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, had preached there in the public street, which caused to be assembled a great concourse of people." To this indictment they all pleaded "not guilty." They were remanded to Newgate, and two days after were brought before the court again, which openly manifested a pre-concerted design to treat them with the utmost severity, and take every unfair advantage of the prisoners that lay in their power. Entering the court-room with their hats on, the mayor reproved them sharply; and Recorder Howel, who during the whole trial treated them with implacable inhumanity, fined them forty marks each.

The jury being sworn, the witnesses deposed that they saw William Penn speaking to the people, assembled in

great numbers in Gracechurch street; but they did not hear what he said.

"Were you there?" inquired the recorder, of William Mead.

"It is a maxim in your own law, that no man is bound to accuse himself. Why, then, dost thou try to ensnare me with such a question?" said William Mead.

The recorder said, in a rage, "Sir, hold your tongue; I did not go about to ensnare you."

"We confess ourselves," said William Penn, "to be so far from recanting or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves, to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us."

The sheriff, Richard Brown, said, "You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law. You do yourselves injustice in going on with that discourse."

"I affirm I have broken no law," replied William Penn, "nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge; and to the end, the bench, the jury and myself, with these that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire you would let me know by what law it is you persecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment."

"Upon the common law," answered the recorder.

"Where is that common law?" inquired William Penn.

"You must not think," said the recorder, "that I am able to run up so many years and over so many adjudged cases, which we call common law, to gratify your curiosity."

"This answer," said Penn, "is very short of my question; for if it be common, it should not be so difficult to produce."

"Will you plead to your indictment?" exclaimed the recorder.

"Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation

in law?" replied Penn. "If it contains that law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce it, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine, or bring in their verdict, when the law is not clear to them, so that they may act according to it?"

"You are a saucy fellow," said the enraged recorder, "speak to the indictment."

But William Penn insisted on his right to have the law produced on which the indictment was founded, and the court evading it, insisted on his pleading to the indictment as it stood: at last the recorder, losing all patience, made a plain confession that he did not know where the law was to be found. "Will you teach the court what law is?" asked the officer.

"If the common law be so hard to understand, it is far from being common," was the reply; "but if Lord Coke, in his Institutes, be of any consideration, he tells us that common law is common right, and that common right is the great charter privileges confirmed in 9 Hen. III., 29; 25 Edw. I., 1; 2 Edw. III., 8; Coke's Institutes, ii., p. 56.

"You are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honor of the court to suffer you to go on," said the recorder.

"I design no affront to the court," replied Penn, "but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your own sinister and arbitrary design." This exasperated the recorder, and he called the officers to take him away: and addressing the mayor, he said, "My lord; if you do not take some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do anything to-night." The mayor ordered him to be taken to the bail-dock; and as he was leaving the bar, he made the following address to the jury:

"This I leave upon your consciences, who are my jury and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws,

which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat on his back? Certainly, then, our liberties are to be openly invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies, by our pretended forfeitures for conscience sake."

William Mead then said: "Ye men of the jury: I now stand here to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle of stuff, full of lies and falsehoods; for therein I am accused that I met with force and arms unlawfully and tumultuously. Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon; and then I thought I feared no man. But now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man, nor do I know that I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person; therefore it is a very proper question that William Penn demanded, an oyer to the law on which our indictment is grounded. If the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, &c., Coke tells us a riot is, when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly another man's land, to cut his grass, his wood, or break down his pales."

The recorder pulled off the prisoner's hat, and in a contemptuous manner he said, "I thank you, sir, for telling me what the law is."

Richard Brown, the inveterate enemy of Friends, remarked, that he was at one time an Independent, then something else, now a Quaker, and no doubt next would be a Papist. Brown himself had formerly been a Papist, and the prisoner merely repeated the well-known Latin verse:

"Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum."

William Mead was then taken to the bail-dock, and the recorder gave the following charge to the jury:—"You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the peo-

ple, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was speaking. If they should not be disturbed you see they will go on; there are three or four witnesses that have proved that he did preach there; that Mr. Mead did allow of it, and after this, you have heard by substantial witnesses what is said against them. Now we are upon matter of fact, which you are to keep to, and observe, as what hath been fully sworn, at your peril."

As this was an irregular proceeding, William Penn arose in the bail-dock, and said in a loud voice;—"I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners?"

"Why, ye are present, you hear, do you not?" said the recorder somewhat irritated.

"No thanks to the court that ordered me into the bail-dock," replied Penn. "And you of the jury take notice that I have not been heard, neither can you legally leave the court before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate the indictment."

"Pull that fellow down—pull him down," exclaimed the furious recorder.

The prisoners were placed in one of the cells of the prison, and the jury were commanded to agree upon their verdict; after remaining about an hour and a half, eight of their number agreed upon a verdict, but the other four were dissatisfied and refused to enter the court. The bench, highly provoked at the four jurymen obstructing their designs, threatened in menacing language to inflict the same punishment on them as they wished to do upon the prisoners. The majority of the jurymen again went to the jury-room, and after a short time they all returned to the bar of the court with a unanimous verdict.

"Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty?" interrogated the officer.

"He is found guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street," replied the foreman.

"Is that all?"

"That is all I have in commission," was the answer.

"You might as well have said nothing," replied the recorder, his temper somewhat ruffled.

"Was it not an unlawful assembly?" demanded the lord mayor.

"My lord, this is all I have in commission," said the foreman, Thomas Beer.

The court refused to accept this verdict; and strove unfairly to extort expressions from some of them, so as to make them acknowledge the meeting was an unlawful assembly; but Bushel, Hammond, and some others, bravely maintained their rights, and refused to admit any alteration in the verdict. The following was then handed to the clerk of the court.

"We, the jurors hereafter named, do find William Penn guilty of speaking, or preaching, to an assembly met together in Gracechurch Street, on the 14th day of August, 1670, and that William Mead is not guilty of said indictment."

Then follow the names of the twelve jurymen. The mayor and recorder resented this action, and vilified the jury in language unbecoming the seat of justice, or those of a liberal education. The recorder addressed the jury in the following improper manner:—

"Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed, till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco. You shall not think thus to abuse the court. We will have a verdict by the help of God, or you shall starve for it."

William Penn remonstrated against such treatment, and said;—"My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free and not compelled; the bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict."

This vindication of his right exasperated the recorder, and he exclaimed, "Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of court."

The court then determined to send the jury back to their room, and the prisoners to jail; but before they were taken out, William Penn said, "The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and such an one being given by the jury, I require the clerk of the peace to record it, as he will answer it at his peril. And if the jury bring in another verdict contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law." And addressing himself to the jury, he exclaimed, "You are Englishmen, mind your privilege; give not away your right."

"Nor will we ever do it," returned E. Bushel, one of the jurymen.

One of the jury desired to be released on account of indisposition; but the lord mayor said, "You are as strong as any of them; starve, then, and hold your principles." To which the recorder added, "Gentlemen, you must be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is resolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be dismissed."

"We are agreed—we are agreed," exclaimed the jury.

But they were sent back to their chamber, where they were shut up all night without victuals, fire or any accommodations whatever. The next morning they brought in the same verdict; and neither the passionate resentments, the opprobrious reflections, nor the repeated menaces of the bench could prevail on them to sacrifice their principles or alter their determination in the least manner. Their steadfastness, and the manly defence of William Penn, caused the recorder's passion to get the better of his prudence, and he said, "Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, until something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England."

"I desire to ask the recorder one question," said William

Penn; "Do you allow of the verdict given of William Mead?"

"It cannot be a verdict, for you are indicted for conspiracy," replied the officer; "and one being found 'not guilty,' and not the other, it cannot be a verdict."

"If 'not guilty' be not a verdict, then you make the jury and Magna Charta a mere nose of wax," answered Penn.

"How is 'not guilty,' no verdict?" inquired William Mead.

"It is no verdict," continued the recorder.

"I affirm that the consent of a jury is a verdict in law," exclaimed William Penn, "and if William Mead be not guilty, it consequently follows that I am clear; since you have indicted us of conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone."

The jury not becoming an instrument in the hands of the persecutors for the conviction of innocent men, they were fined forty marks apiece and ordered to be imprisoned until the fines were paid, but they were discharged some time after by Habeas Corpus, returnable in the Common Pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. The prisoners, upon being cleared by the jury, demanded their liberty; but they were remanded back to prison for fines imposed upon them for not taking off their hats in the presence of the court.

Thus ended this memorable trial, wherein a noble stand was made against the illegal proceedings of despotic magistrates in dangerous times, when reason, law and equity were equally disregarded. It was soon after published in pamphlet form with an appendix attached, showing not only the invalidity of the evidence, but also the absurdity of the indictment and the illegal proceedings of the court. The case of the Lord Chief Justice Keeley was also mentioned, who having put restraints, a committee of Parliament on the eleventh of December, 1667, passed a resolution, that his proceedings were innovations, in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he had used an arbitrary and illegal power, which was dangerous to the lives and liberties of the



people of England and tended to the introduction of an arbitrary government. In the place of judicature he had undervalued, vilified and condemned Magna Charta. In view of this it was resolved that he should suffer condign punishment in such a manner as the house should judge most fit and requisite.

The book containing the trial went through several editions under the title of "The People's ancient and just liberties asserted," and underneath was added the well known quotation from Juvenal :

*"Sic volo, sic jubeo ; stat pro ratione voluntas."*

Another work was also published treating the matter in more technical language, the author, Thomas Rudyard, being a lawyer. It is not strange that he was most cruelly persecuted, when we state, that he often vigorously pleaded the cause of the oppressed, and sometimes put a check to the illegality practised by the court. The magistrates of London issued a warrant to break open his house during the night, in order to apprehend him ; this warrant was executed by Captain Holford and some soldiers, and by a mittimus from the lord mayor, stating " that he stirred up persons to disobedience of the laws, and abetted and encouraged such as met in unlawful and seditious conventicles, contrary to the late act," he was committed to Newgate prison. His case was brought before the justices of the court of Common Pleas, at Westminster, by a Habeas Corpus, and after careful consideration, that court decided that Thomas Rudyard was unjustly imprisoned and unlawfully detained. He was set at liberty, but was soon after arrested again and placed in Newgate, for having attended a meeting at White Hart court, in Gracechurch street. He freely confessed that he had met in Gracechurch street, to worship God, but denied that it was for purposes alleged in the indictment ; and when he desired to know upon what law the indictment was grounded, he received similar answers to those they had previously given to Penn and Mead. Several other persons were tried at the

same time with Rudyard, and they urged their peaceable principles to the court, and stated that the law against riots was never designed against them, but against popish disturbers of the public peace. The recorder said, that the papists were better subjects to the king than they were; and that they were a stubborn and dangerous people, and must either be made obedient to the laws, or there was no safe living with them.

For this ill-treatment and inhumanity, the recorder won the favor of the court; and Alderman Robinson moved, that he be presented with one hundred pounds for his service to the king and country, at the last sessions of Old Bailey, which was agreed to, and an order issued to the chamberlain to pay it. Thomas Rudyard being informed of this fact, and also that he soon after received two hundred pounds in a similar manner, he thought proper to apprise his fellow-citizens of the disposal of the public money, and published a book, with the following satirical title: "An excellent way to ease the treasury of being overburdened with orphan's money, by which sinister means of disposing of its cash, the chamber was so deeply in debt as was almost incredible."

Persecution was raging with all its former severity. The informer, according to the law, receiving one-third of the fine imposed upon the prisoners, tried upon the validity of his information, a door was opened for base and wicked persons, to gain booty by persecuting the innocent. This became such a lucrative business that some magistrates themselves turned informers.

" Quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
Auri sacra fames!"

## CHAPTER XXVI.

DURING the summer of this year, Thomas Bud died at Ivelchester, in Somersetshire, after an imprisonment of eight years and a half, for refusing to swear. Some hours before death, he said : " I renew my covenant with God, and am well satisfied in it ; and I believe God will sustain me by the right hand of his justice, and I rejoice and thank God that all my children walk in the way of the Lord."

At a meeting of the court at Whitehall, the king and council issued an order for demolishing the meeting-house at Horslydown, in Southwark, Surrey, and on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month [September], several musketeers entered it, beating and bruising the persons assembled, most violently. The meeting was disturbed weekly for nearly three months, and the soldiers acted in the most outrageous manner both to men and women. At one of these assaults, more than twenty persons were wounded and severely bruised ; at another time, thirty, and at the last, over fifty were wounded in the most horrible manner. At length, these military violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority ; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body against the number of armed men that attacked them. On the sixteenth of the tenth month [October], the Friends again met, and were again assaulted by a party of horse and foot. The police being on the spot to preserve peace, kept them at bay for a short time, as it was a more serious affair to trample upon the legal authority of the civil power, than upon the immunities and persons of private individuals ; but they soon broke through the barriers of civil restraint, and fell upon the poor defenceless people

with their accustomed rage and inhumanity. In endeavoring to prevent the shedding of blood, the police themselves suffered almost as much as those who were the immediate cause of the attack. On being rebuked for their cruelty, one of them said; "If you only knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you." And, on being asked, "How can you deal thus with a people that make no resistance or opposition?" they answered, "We had rather, and it would be better for us, if you did resist and oppose." These oppressive and injurious measures were carried most too far; and a narrative of the violence of the soldiers was presented to the king, who put a stop to their depredations for a short time.

At the beginning of this year, George Fox, who was in London, put forth the following prayer: "O Lord 1671. God Almighty! prosper Truth, and preserve Justice and equity in the land, and bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falsehood, cruelty and unmercifulness in the land, that mercy and righteousness may flourish.

And, O Lord God! establish and set up verity, and preserve it in the land; and bring down all debauchery and vice which causeth and leadeth people to have no esteem of Thee, O God! Nor their souls or bodies, nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

And, O Lord! put it in the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, and violence, cruelty and profaneness, cursing and swearing; and put down all places of vice which corrupt youth and the people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come; but such works lead people to hell. And the Lord in mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God, from coming on the land!"

A week after George Fox's marriage with Margaret Fell, she was cast into prison, but by the help of others he procured a royal order from the king and council granting her release,

which was sent to the sheriff of Lancashire, who set the prisoner at liberty.

The heat of persecution began to cool, and George Fox felt it his duty, in accordance with the will of God, to make a religious visit to his friends in America. He apprised his wife of his intention by letter, desiring her to come to London previous to his starting on the voyage. After parting with her, he set sail in the latter part of the summer for America, in company with several other friends, and after a passage of seven weeks, they landed at Barbadoes.

A witty pamphlet was published in London, being a satirical rebuke on the gang of idlers, who gained means of support by becoming informers against persons who attended the meetings of the Society of Friends. It was entitled—"An easy way to get money *cum privilegio*, without fear or cumber: printed for the Society of Informers." It was dedicated in the following manner: "To all you that can work, and will not; and to all those that, through other ways of extravagance, have brought themselves into debt, necessity, or other wants (for your speedy supply and future support), there is an opportunity put in your hands, that is both safe, profitable and honorable. It is to be Informers."

England and France declared war against Holland, and the government thinking that persecution for religion

1672. during the war would be detrimental to their interest

King Charles published a proclamation, suspending the execution of all the penal laws.

A Baptist preacher in London named Thomas Hicks, employed his pen in writing several pamphlets under the invidious title of "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker;" which (as usual in this unfair method of handling polemical subjects), makes the fictitious Quaker speak in character, or out of character, as best answered the author's design, which appears not to have been for the investigation of truth, so much as to represent his Quaker a deformed, ridiculous and erroneous being. The unfair dealing and perverse misrepresentation of this antagonist made a defence

necessary, and William Penn reviewed the subject very skillfully in two books, one entitled "Reason against Railing," and the other, "The counterfeit Christian detected." He called upon the society of Baptists in London, to examine into the truth of Hicks's assertions, and deal with him according to his fruits; but they appeared more anxious to screen their preacher from detection, than to do justice to the injured parties. Thomas Plant, one of Hicks's followers, in order to re-enforce the false statements made by his teacher, published a work called, "A Contest for Christianity," which was answered by Thomas Elwood, in his "Forgery, no Christianity;" in the conclusion of which, he challenged Hicks to make true his charges before a public auditory, but he was too wary to commit himself in such an open manner.

At the meeting of Parliament, the king, in his speech, informed them, that in order to have peace at home 1673. while they had war abroad, he had issued his declaration of indulgence to dissenters, and had found many good effects to result from this measure. That he was resolved to adhere to his declaration: but a remonstrance was drawn up by the House of Commons against it, insisting that the penal laws could not be suspended but by act of Parliament; that this indulgence was illegal, tending to subvert the constitution, by rendering the other two branches of the legislature useless, while the acts of the three conjointly could be superseded by any prerogative claimed by one of them. When they presented this remonstrance to the king, he defended his right to issue the declaration, by virtue of his acknowledged prerogative of supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, which he did not claim in matters of property or civil rights. But the Commons had in their hands a stronger argument than words—the power of granting money, the want of which obliged the king to convene their body; and they refused to pass the exchequer bill without the king would revoke the above declaration, which he at last was forced to do.

In the summer, George Fox returned to England; and on his arrival at Bristol, he wrote to his wife, who, in company with her son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters, hastened to that city. As the great fair was held in Bristol a short time after his arrival, a number of his friends came from different parts of the country, and held a large meeting. George Fox said: "God was the first teacher of man and woman in Paradise; and that as long as they kept to God's teaching, they kept in the image of God, and in righteousness, holiness, and dominion over all that God hath made. But when they hearkened to the false teaching of the serpent, who was out of truth, and so disobeyed God, they lost the image of God, to wit, Righteousness and Holiness; and so coming under the power of Satan, were turned out of Paradise. This serpent was the second teacher, and the man who followeth his teachings came into misery, and into his fall. Christ Jesus was the third teacher, of whom God said, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him.' And this Son himself said, 'Learn of me.' He is the true Gospel teacher, that never falls, and therefore is to be heard in all things, since he is the Saviour and the Redeemer, and having laid down his life, had bought his sheep with his precious blood."

After a short sojourn in Bristol, he went to Gloucestershire, and passing through Oxfordshire, he arrived at London, where persecution was somewhat on the decline; but several societies were busy in defaming Friends, by issuing malicious books, which were not left unanswered by those who were jealous of their good name.

George Fox and Thomas Lower were arrested at Arm-scot, in Tredington parish, after holding a meeting 1674. in that place, and cast into prison. Thomas Lower might have regained his liberty by means of his brother's intercession, who was one of the king's physicians, and had procured a letter from Henry Savil, gentleman of the bedchamber, to Lord Winsor, for his release, if he had been willing to accept it; but bearing too great a respect for

his father-in-law to leave him alone, he suppressed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companion.

During the last session of the court for this year, they were brought before the bar for trial. Justice Parker, who caused them to be arrested, made a long but very weak apology for his conduct; stating that he thought it a milder course to send them to jail, than to put his neighbors to the expense of two hundred pounds, by putting the law against conventicles in force.

The chairman, Simpson, then said: "Mr. Fox, you are a famous man, and your statement may be true: but that we may be better satisfied, will you take the oath of allegiance and supremacy?"

"I never took an oath in my life, but I have always been true to the government. I deny the Pope and his power, and deny it with all my heart," was the answer.

"Give him a book," some one cried.

"The Book says, Swear not at all," replied George Fox.

The jailor was ordered to take him to prison, and as he left, he said: "The Lord forgive you who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ."

The justices, afraid to proceed against Thomas Lower, on account of his more powerful connexions, told him he was at liberty.

"Why cannot my father-in-law be set at liberty as well as me, since we were taken together for the same pretended offence."

"You can go about your business," said the justices; "we have nothing to do with you."

When the court adjourned he went to the justices in their chamber and desired to know: "What cause they had to detain his father, when they had discharged him; is it not partiality?"

"If you are not content we will tender you the oath and send you to your father."

"Ye may do that if ye will," said Lower, "but whether



ye send me or no, I intend to go, and wait upon my father in prison, for that is now my business in the country."

"Do you think, Mr. Lower," replied Justice Parker, in apology for his conduct, "that I had no cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had so great a meeting; insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he had lost the greatest part of his parishioners, so that when he comes amongst them, he hath scarcely any auditors left."

"I have heard," said Lower, "that the priest of the parish comes so seldom to visit his flock, but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather in his tithes, that it was but charity in my father to visit so forlorn and forsaken a flock. And, therefore, thou hadst no cause to send him to prison for visiting and instructing them, who had so little comfort from their pastor, who comes among them only to seek his gain from this quarter."

Doctor Crowther, the parson, was present, but did not reply either in resentment or vindication. But when Thomas Lower left the room, the justices were highly diverted at Crowther's expense, which so exasperated him, that he threatened to sue Lower in the Bishops' Court on an action for defamation; but when he heard it, Thomas told him, "that he might commence his suit as soon as he pleased; that he would answer it, and bring his whole parish in evidence against him." The priest thought he would pursue the wisest course and therefore let the matter rest.

Some days after a Habeas Corpus came down to Worcester, for removing George Fox to the King's Bench bar, at Westminster. The under-sheriff made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey the prisoner to the specified court, where his case was argued, but coming to no determination, the judges placed him in the custody of the marshal, and appointed another day for a hearing.

By spreading some false reports, Justice Parker contrived to have the prisoner sent back to Worcester for trial. He appeared at the next assizes before Judge Turner,—who

formerly passed sentence of *premunire* against him at Lancaster. The judge was very moderate, and was inclined to release him ; but Parker endeavored to prevent it by insinuating that he was the ringleader of a band of treason plotters. To clear himself from all trouble, Judge Turner referred the case back to the court of sessions. So he was continued a prisoner ; but through the favor of some of the justices, he was permitted to lodge in a friend's house, and granted the liberty of the town.

When the court of sessions was organized, George Fox made his appearance again before the justices. The chairman opened his trial with a speech, in which he asserted the usual frivolous pretences for committing him to prison ; and to give an apparent pretext for their proceedings, he said—" George Fox had a meeting at Tredington, from all parts of the nation, to the terror of the king's subjects, for which he had been committed to prison, and that, for the trial of his fidelity, the oath had been tendered to him, which he refused ;" then turning to the prisoner, he asked whether he was now willing to swear his allegiance to the king. Having obtained liberty to speak, George Fox first vindicated himself from the misrepresentations of the chairman, then repeated the relation of his journey and the cause of it, as he had done in former sessions ; he proved that it was not true that there were persons from *all* parts of the nation, nor was their meeting to terrify the king's subjects ; he honestly declared his allegiance to the king, but refused to take the oath on account of the command of Christ, which strictly forbids it.

The clerk then read the indictment, and when the chairman asked him if he was guilty, he replied,—“ No, for the indictment is a bundle of lies.”

The jury, under instructions, returned a bill against him, which he determined to traverse, but refused to give bail for his appearance at the next sessions, only pledging his word to appear, if the Lord gave him health and strength. He was sent back to prison, but by the interposition of some

moderate justices he was set at liberty until the next quarter sessions.

He went to London to attend the yearly meeting, where, at the instance of some of his friends, he appeared before the judges of king's bench, and, in lieu of an oath, delivered to them a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denying the Pope's supremacy and power; but as his case was under cognizance of the quarter sessions of Worcester, the judges were unwilling to interpose, without it was brought before the bar of their court.

When the yearly meeting was over, he returned to Worcester to traverse the indictment; but when he proceeded to show its errors, which were sufficient to quash it, he was interrupted, the oath required of him again, and upon his refusal to take it, the jury found him guilty. The chairman then told him, "that he was going to show him the dangers of a premunire, which was the loss of his liberty, and all his goods and chattels, and the endurance of life imprisonment. But," added he, "I do not deliver this as a sentence of the court, but as an admonition to you." When the jailor took him away, this sentence was clandestinely entered on the record. This action of the justices to evade the reproach and censure due to their illegal proceedings, was condemned by several of the justices themselves, as well as the generality of the people. The Earl of Salisbury's son, interested in the trial, visited George Fox in prison, and wrote a copy of the errors in the indictment, and delivered a legal and calm review of the case to Judge Wild. Soon after, George Fox was seized with a violent attack of sickness, and made application to Justice Parker for his removal to a place where he could be properly treated. A letter was written to the jailor, which was sufficient warrant to permit him to be taken to the house of some of his friends. His wife hearing he was in prison, under sentence of premunire, went to Worcester to attend him, and after remaining with him three or four months, she went to London to solicit his discharge. Obtaining a meeting with the king at Whitehall, she gave

him an account of her husband's long imprisonment and sickness; but the king said he could do nothing, and referred her to the chancellor. Waiting on Lord Finch, she was informed, "that the king could not release him otherwise than by a pardon," which the king would readily have granted; but George Fox did not wish to obtain his liberty in that way, for it would be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt; and he said, "I would rather lie in prison all my days than come out in any way dishonorable to the profession of the Society of Friends." He rather chose to have the validity of his indictment tried before the King's Bench, and accordingly procured a Habeas Corpus for his removal to that court. Counsellor Thomas Corbet was employed to plead for the prisoner, and he acquitted himself with great honor. During the argument, he advanced a new plea: "That by law they could not imprison any man upon a premunire." He gave them references; and after consulting their books, they discovered the argument to be well grounded, but omitted any further notice of it, and proceeded immediately to examine the indictment. As it was full of errors and misrepresentations, the judges were unanimous in the opinion that the indictment was null and void, and that George Fox ought to be set at liberty. A motion was made to tender him the oath; but that upright and conscientious judge, Matthew Hale, who presided at the King's Bench, was too honest to persecute the innocent man, and he said, "he had, indeed, heard some such reports about George Fox not taking the oath, but he had also heard more good reports of him."

After a full hearing before the four judges, he was discharged by proclamation, after suffering an unjust imprisonment of more than a year.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

DURING a religious visit to Plymouth, Miles Halhead went to see General Lambert, who was imprisoned for life on a small island near that place. The minister of the Lord spoke to the old general the word of God, with sincerity and truth: he brought before his mind the promises he had made to the Lord in the hour of danger and trial, and how he had broken them when brightness and worldly power once more beamed upon him. After some religious conversation, Miles Halhead said to the world-weary soldier: "Truly, I never saw thy face before, to know thee, although I have been brought before many of our English commanders in the time of Oliver Cromwell."

"Who were they?" inquired Lambert.

"Generals Fleetwood and Desborough, Major Blackmore, and Colonel Fenwick."

"I know the most of these men were moderate, and against persecution," said the general.

"Indeed they were very moderate," replied Miles; "but they permitted others to persecute us, and did not plead our cause."

After remaining a few hours in pleasant conversation with General Lambert and his interesting family, who were exiled from the world and all its follies and temptations, he bid them an affectionate adieu, and went forth again to preach the pure doctrine of salvation.

One more case of persecution deserves mention, which took place this year. Robert Tillet of Buckingham was affected with consumption, and believing his death was close at hand, desired some of his friends to call at his residence.

A few friends collected around the bed of the dying man, to cheer him with the hope of glory, and administer those words of consolation which his mind needed. Two informers acquainted the justice of the peace of this small meeting, which he recorded as a seditious body, and fined the sick man twenty pounds for this pretended transgression of the law. Robert Smith, who spoke a few words by the bedside, was fined twenty pounds as a preacher, and several others were also fined the same amount.

After attending the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in London, George Fox went to Swarthmore, 1675. where he resided about two years, in order to regain his health, which was enfeebled by hardships and long imprisonments. His old persecutor, Colonel Kirby, professed much friendship, and bade him welcome to that section of the country, but notwithstanding this appearance of kindness, he some time afterwards ordered the constables of Ulverstone to tell George Fox, "that they must have no more meetings at Swarthmore, or they would be disturbed." Notwithstanding which, on the next first-day, the Friends held a meeting, and contrary to their expectation, it passed off without the least disturbance. During his seclusion at home, he frequently wrote epistles and letters to his friends; giving advice to those in trouble, exhorting all to be faithful to God and themselves, in order to win the crown of glory prepared for those who live a righteous, upright and godly life.

Many continued to be imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. William Penn in this year wrote a treatise on oaths, in which he showed the reasons of Friends for not swearing, and confirmed them by numerous authorities. In consideration of the unhappy divisions and animosities prevailing in the nation, he also wrote this year, an excellent work, entitled, "England's present interest considered," wherein, to allay the heats of the contending parties, he shows the consistency of liberty of conscience with the peace of the kingdom. Its pages are eminently conspicuous for

exalted sentiments of real Christianity and genuine patriotism.

While one great mind was employed in pointing out the true interest of the nation, another was appropriating his labors to the service of truth and the society of which he was a member. In this year ROBERT BARCLAY published his "Apology for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers." This work was dedicated to King Charles II., in an epistle remarkable for its plainness and simplicity, free from the servile adulation too generally used towards princes, by those in the lower rank of society.

The revocation of the indulgence of the king, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, gave fresh stimulus to the persecuting magistrates, and idle tribe of thirsty informers. Persecutions were renewed against Friends, and every penal law was made to bear upon them, upon the most trivial pretences, which the capricious will of every petty justice could suggest. Great distress was also occasioned by the priests wrenching their tithes from the poor; and what rendered these sufferings more severe, they had no grounds to hope for redress while their plunderers were encouraged and urged on by their superiors, whose duty it was to protect the people in the unmolested possession of property accumulated by honest industry.

It is a remarkable truth, that many of these persecutors came to a sudden and miserable death; one, in particular, deserves some notice. Christopher Glin, priest of Butford, who had acted very indiscreetly towards the Society of Friends, was struck with blindness whilst preaching a sermon, falsely accusing them of holding blasphemous doctrines, and continued sightless during the remainder of his life.

On a voyage from the West Indies, in the ship *Samuel*, of London, William Barly was taken sick, and died. He had been a teacher among the Baptists, at Poole, in Dorsetshire, where he was convinced through the ministry of

George Fox in 1655, and, on joining the Society, he became a zealous, upright preacher and servant of the Lord. On his death-bed he exhorted those around him, "to fear the Lord, and not to fear death; death is nothing in itself, but the sting of death is sin. Tell my friends, in London, I would have been glad to see their faces, but I go to my Father and their Father, to my God and to their God. Remember my love to my dear wife—she will be a sorrowful widow; but let her not mourn too much, for it's well with me." After addressing them for a long time on their duty to God and their fellow men, he fell into the sleep of death.

John Crook, in his writings, says, "He was bold and zealous in his preaching, being willing to improve his time, as if he knew that he had no long time to live, and he was as valiant in suffering for his testimony, when called thereunto."

He had for some time followed a seafaring life for the maintenance of his family, and was instrumental by his ministerial labor in convincing many inhabitants of distant countries.

In the early part of this year Mathew Hide died in London: he was notorious as a great persecutor of 1676. Friends, and frequently contradicted their preachers while speaking, and otherwise disturbed the meetings. When the hour of death was near at hand he summoned George Whitehead and several of his friends to his bedside. One of them asked him, if he had anything to say about his conduct towards the Society of Friends.

"I am sorry for what I have done," replied Hide, "for they are the people of God."

When George Whitehead entered the room, he said, "I am come in love and tenderness to see thee; if thou hast any remorse of conscience, I would have thee banish it."

"What I have to say I speak in the presence of God," said the dying man; "as Paul was a persecutor of the people of the Lord, so have I been a persecutor of His people, as the world is, who persecute the children of God."

George Whitehead, then, with the eloquence of truth upon



his tongue, and the doctrine of the living God in his heart, pointed the strait and narrow way to the dying sinner, and bade him to seek repentance by washing his sins in the pure blood of the Lamb. When his kind friends left him with the spirit of the Lord, he exhorted his wife with tearful eyes to leave the world and enjoy the richness of salvation, to look within for guide and council in hours of trial and temptation, and give heed to that still small voice which is the monitor of God to man. The hour of death was passed with a quiet conscience, and the dying man's peacefulness fully attested the truth of God's saying : " I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins."

William Lampit, the priest of Ulverstone, formerly a great friend to Margaret Fell, now the wife of George Fox, also died this year. In 1652 he said : " I will wage my life on it, that the Quaker will all vanish, and come to naught in six months." But on his death-bed he said to one of his parishioners ; " I have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well, but I did not think it was so hard a thing to die."

In the city of London, persecutions under the Conventicle Act seem to have subsided during this year ; but the distresses and persecutions for ecclesiastical demands were enormous and severe ; self-interest and antipathy to a people whose principles and doctrine struck at the root of priestcraft, and at mercenary ministers, excited the priesthood incessantly to the execution of the severest laws in their power. The number plundered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and those who laid down their lives in prison in consequence of the persecutions, is too large to note minutely. The picture of disastrous sufferings on one hand, and the persecutions disgraceful to Christianity, on the other, are too horrible and inhuman for contemplation.

Robert Cooper, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, was imprisoned at the suit of Robert Winchestly, a priest, who gave special orders to the jailor to keep him in close confinement ;

and when his friends pleaded for his liberty, on account of the poverty of his wife and children, the priest said,—“ If his children starve it is none of my concern ; he shall lie there and rot ; I will have no more mercy on him than on a thief ; if the law would hang him, I would ; tithes are my due, and I will have them.”

At Norwich, Thomas Nelson, a very poor man, who by hard labor supported his wife and five small children, was fined for being at a meeting. The officers, pitying his circumstances, reported to the justice, that the man had little in the house except one bed for his family. The hard-hearted magistrate ordered them to seize his bed, which was done on the next day, leaving him, his wife and children, to lie on straw. His wife endeavored to maintain her children by baking bread and cakes to sell in the market, but the officer even seized this when she exposed it for sale.

William Poole, a constable of Norwich, was compelled to accompany an informer to a meeting, and being affected with the doctrine he heard preached there, said, with tears in his eyes,—“ What shall I do ? I know the power of God is among you ;” and turning to the informer, he said,—“ If there is a curse hanging over any people upon earth, it is upon you informers.” This remark was true, for their ill-gotten plunder was generally spent in gambling and debauchery.

In Nottinghamshire, John Sayton was informed against, for attending a meeting in the parish of Blyth, and fined by Justice Thornton. He appealed to the quarter sessions, and with much difficulty obtained a hearing of his case. The jury finding the matter clear, brought in a verdict for the appellant, when Penniston Whaley, one of the justices, who had before manifested his virulence and ignorance of Friends, and their principles, in his endeavors to enforce the Act 35 Eliz., ordered them out again, but one of them exclaimed—“ We have agreed, and well considered the matter !”

Not even granting them the privilege of freemen, he said

in a rage,—“ You deserve to be hanged—you are as bad as a highwayman ; I hope the king will destroy juries, for this will not do.” Sayton was acquitted, and this jury dismissed to make room for another more pliant to the instructions and temper of the court. On the following day, another jury was empannelled for the trial of William Hudson, who proved by the evidence that he was not at the meeting specified in the indictment ; but eight of the jury being picked men, known to be averse to the appellant, the other four were overawed into compliance, and after the court adjourned, they privately gave in a verdict against him.

In the city of Hereford, the severe persecution of the late law against sundry members of this Society, the partiality of the justices in frustrating appeals to the sessions for redress, by refusing to accept the juries' verdicts for the appellants, being found insufficient to deter Friends from holding their meetings, the magistrates and priests combined to attempt it by lawless violence. On the twentieth of the eighth month [August], Henry Caldicott, mayor of the city, with his officers, entered a meeting and warned them to desist assembling in that city, or it would be at their peril. On the next first-day the meeting was attacked by a ruthless mob, who offered every insult to the peaceable people collected together to worship God. For several months these attacks were continued ; and although complaints of this treatment were made to the mayor, yet he dismissed the complainants without giving them the least satisfaction. At one time they fired squibs in the congregation, broke the windows, injured the house by casting stones against it, and tearing tiles from the roof. In the midst of these disorders, Edward King and Robert Simons, justices of the peace, and Abraham Seward, mayor elect, came, not to quell the fury of the rabble, but to send the abused to prison, which they effected by tendering the oath of allegiance ; committing all who refused to take it.

They continued the like abuses during the whole year. The sufferers, having repaired their house and rendered it habitable once more, were again beset by the rude multi-

tude, who were instigated by the officers of the mayor to commit acts which the civil power is incorporated to prevent. These were times in which justice was perverted, and equity was thrown aside; when peaceful dissenters were tried and punished as rioters for worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences; whilst real riots were not only allowed to pass with impunity, but were even promoted by those whose duty it was to quell them.

Herr Adrian Paets, at one time ambassador for the States of the United Provinces to the Court of Spain, wrote a letter to Christian Hartzoeker, of Rotterdam, in which he expressed a strange opinion of the doctrine of Friends; and afterwards meeting Robert Barclay, they held a long conversation on the principle of the inward Revelation of the Spirit. This induced Barclay to write a letter to Paets, which was sent to Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam, and delivered according to the direction; but as it was not answered, the writer had it published in Latin, without mentioning the Herr's name.

"It is falsely supposed," said Barclay, "that the essence of the Christian religion consisted in the historical faith and knowledge of the birth, death, life, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Faith and historical knowledge is, indeed, a part of the Christian religion, but not such an essential part, as that without which the Christian religion cannot consist; but an integral part, which goes to the completing of the Christian religion, as the hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without which nevertheless a man may exist, but not an entire and complete man. I agree that the historical knowledge of Christ is commonly manifested to us by the Holy Scripture as the means; but God could, without such means, manifest the said historical knowledge to our minds.

"A contingent truth may be known by a supernatural knowledge; and when God doth make known unto man any matter of fact by divine or immediate revelation, he then speaks as to the ear of the heart of the inward man. When any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it;

so also when any supernatural idea is raised, we clearly know that whereof it is the idea." What properly is the inward supernatural sense in man is also described, and many other doctrinal points are argued with great force and ability. This letter caused much excitement among all religious societies; but few attempted to withstand the writer in argument or knowledge.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

In the beginning of this year, George Fox left Swarthmore, where he had lived in seclusion since his release from 1677. Worcester prison. After visiting the house of John Reckless, in Nottinghamshire, who once imprisoned him in that town, but had since embraced the doctrine of truth, he travelled through Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, and thence went to London to attend the approaching yearly meeting. In these early times the principal business of the yearly meeting was to receive accounts of the sufferings of Friends, and take measures for their relief. At the annual meeting of this year, accounts were received of the heavy sufferings from the persecutions by the act of 23 Eliz., which was made to guard against Popish recusants, but executed upon Friends. An article relative to this grievance was drawn up, with a petition for relief, and laid before Parliament; but no redress was obtained from that body.

After the yearly meeting adjourned, George Fox, accompanied by William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and some others, went to Holland to visit their friends in that kingdom. William Penn and Robert Barclay went from Holland to Germany, where the former wrote two letters to the Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate, daughter of Frederic, king of Bohemia, sister of Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, and mother of George, king of Great Britain. The following is her answer :

“ This, Friend, will tell you, that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our

great king and Saviour Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples is not so much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreshment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the Duchess of L——, as I have expressed at the same time unto B. F.\*

“But since Robert Barclay desired I should write it, I would not refuse him, nor omit to do anything that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

“Your affectionate friend,

“ELIZABETH.”

When George Fox was at Amsterdam, he also wrote a letter to this virtuous and interesting princess, commending her for the modest and retired life she was pursuing, at the same time exhorting her to piety and godliness; to which she returned this reply.

“DEAR FRIEND:—I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him; therefore, your letter and your friend’s visit have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction. Remaining still,

Your loving friend,

“ELIZABETH.”

After this correspondence, William Penn and Robert Barclay determined to pass through the town of Herford (the residence of the princess), on the frontiers of Paderborn, in order to visit their royal friend. With the princess resided Anna Maria, Countess of Hornes, who desired these ministers of God to hold a meeting for the comfort of their mind. They were invited to partake of the hospitality of the Castle, instead of remaining in a noisy inn, which invitation they thankfully accepted. At the public meeting which was held,

\* We suppose the princess alluded to Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam.

these eminent men breathed forth the holy word of God in language not to be misunderstood; and after William Penn had made a sermon which produced a deep and lasting effect upon his hearers, the Princess Elizabeth took him by the hand, and said; "I cannot speak to you; my heart is full. Will you not come hither again, before you leave Germany?"

"We are in the hands of the Lord," replied Penn; "and being at His pleasure, cannot dispose of our time." They parted in silent sorrow, and Robert Barclay returned to Amsterdam, while William Penn went to Paderborn, by the way of Cassel (where he conversed with the learned and venerable Dureus), to Frankfort. Here he held a meeting at the house of a young gentleman, noble by birth, named Merlane, who said to him; "Our quarters are free to you; let all come that will come, and lift up your voices without fear." He then visited Chrisheim, a village near Worms, where many Friends resided, who afterwards emigrated to America with him, and settled the State of Pennsylvania. Whilst in the Palatinate, he wrote an epistle to Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Anna Maria, Countess of Hornes, to which he received the following answer:

"DEAR FRIEND:—I have received your greetings, good wishes, and exhortations, with much joy, and shall follow the latter as far as it will please our great God to give me light and strength. I can say little for myself; but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end; and that I shall not shrink from his fire. I do long for it; and when he assures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the cross I meet therein. I am also glad to hear your journey hath been prosperous, both in the constitutions of your bodies, to withstand the badness of the weather, and in the reception you had in Cassel, Frankfort and Chrisheim. Nothing surprised me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much ingenuity, having lately wrote a book, entitled '*Le veritable Chrétien*,' that doth speak in



another way. I wish to know what reception you had at Fredricksburg; and if this find you at Cleves, I wish you might take an occasion to see the two pastors of Mulheim, who do really seek the Lord, but have some prejudice against your doctrines, as also the Countess there. It would be of much use for my family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all things else concerning your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,

“ELIZABETH.”

George Fox went to Hamburg and Frederickstad to visit his friends in that part of the country, and afterwards joined William Penn at Amsterdam, who accompanied him to Wiewart to hold some intercourse with the Society of Labadites. Here they met the famous Anna Maria Schurman, the gentlewomen Sometrykes, the French pastor, Peter Yvon, and others. Yvon gave an interesting account of John de Labadie, the founder of the Society, and his religious principles. Anna Maria Schurman, in giving an account of her former life, spoke “of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in, but confessed she knew not God or Christ all that while. And although from a child, God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke, as by the ministry of John de Labadie; then she saw her learning was vanity and her religion like a body of death, and she therefore resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and join herself with this little family that had retired from the world.” One of the Sometrykes then gave a relation of her conversion by the preaching of Labadie. ‘To use her own words: “I have often mourned the deadness and formality of Christians; and I have said to myself, O the pride, the lusts, the vain pleasures in which Christians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are these followers of Christ? O, no! O God! where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live entirely to thee—that will follow thee? Make me one of that number.”

William Penn was deeply affected with these circumstan-

ces ; he himself had sacrificed the world to Christ—the brilliant career a doting father had planned for his son's path through life, to follow the despised and crucified Jesus, and become an outcast from his paternal roof, in order to inherit the crown of deathless glory. With tears in his eyes he spoke of his conversion from the vanity and pride of life,—of the temptation with which he was surrounded in the gayest metropolis of Europe—the adversities he had to contend with at the University of Oxford, and how, amid all these difficulties, the Spirit of God whispered in his heart and pointed to the high and holy way of everlasting life. It was an interesting meeting—a meeting of kindred spirits, who stood aloof from the world, only mingling with it for the one purpose of doing their duty to God and man. As they were about to depart, one of the pastors asked William Penn, if the truth did not arise from a poor and illiterate people ; on receiving an answer in the affirmative, the pastor said : “ Then let not the learning of the world be used to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth ; for scholars now coming among you will be apt to mix school learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of your testimony.”

George Fox and William Penn then bade farewell, and travelled by the way of Groeningen to Embden, where Penn visited the burgermaster, and asked him if he and the senate had not received a letter in Latin from an Englishman, about two years since, concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers.

“ We did,” replied the burgermaster.

“ I am that man,” said Penn, “ and am constrained by my conscience to visit thee on their behalf.”

The burgermaster treated him very kindly, and promised to alter his conduct towards Friends, which promise, however, he never fulfilled, for persecution raged with greater violence for years afterwards.

William Penn went to Herford again, and held a meeting with the Princess Elizabeth and the Countess of Hornes,

who received him with great kindness. He intreated them, by their hope of glory, to leave the world, and not be willing slaves to all its allurements and temptations, but remember there was a day of judgment, when an account must be rendered of their stewardship. As he was leaving, he took the princess by the hand, and said: "I hope the blessing of Jesus may be with and upon you." And when he exhorted the countess to break off from the entanglements and glittering gew-gaws of the world, she beseeched him, in the language of a broken spirit, to remember her, and implore the Lord's assistance in her behalf, for, said she, "I am fully convinced; but, oh! my sins are great."

At Amsterdam, George Fox and William Penn held a debate with Dr. Galenus Abraham, an eminent Baptist minister, on some doctrinal points, which have been duly noticed in the disputes of other persons, and recorded in this work. They soon sailed for England, and arrived safely at Harwich, after suffering a violent storm at sea. When William Penn arrived in London, he found the following letter from the princess:

"Dear Friend: Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel, to follow it as much as lies in me, but God's grace must be assistant, as you say yourself; He accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he required most—I mean to do all in and by his Son—I shall be in no better condition than at this present time. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myself. Remember my love to G. F., B. F., G. K., and dear Gertrude.\* If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make out to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening we met; I only stay to do it

\* Gertrude Dericks, who had visited the princess, and coming to England, she soon afterwards married Stephen Crisp.

in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

“Your true friend,

“ELIZABETH.”

“P. S.—I almost forgot to tell you, that my sister writes me word she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osenburgh, to return to Amsterdam. There is also a Drosfard, of Limbourg, near this place (to whom I gave an exemplar of R. B.’s Apology), very desirous to speak with some of your friends.”

This correspondence was continued for some time, but we must close it with transcribing one of William Penn’s letters, which was written during his voyage from Holland to England :

“Dear and truly respected Friend :

“My soul most earnestly desireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which standeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as ’tis done in Heaven. O, dear princess, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteousness, ‘Not my will, but thine be done, O God!’ Thy days are few, and then thou must go to judgment. Then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and show its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all that love it to God. O! that thou may’st be able to give an account with joy!

I could not leave this country, and not testify to the recollections I bear in my mind of that humble and tender entertainment thou gavest us at thy court—the Lord Jesus reward thee, and surely he hath a blessing in store for thee. Go on; be steadfast; overcome, and thou shalt inherit. Do not despond. One that is mighty is near thee; a present help in the needful time of trouble. O, let the desire of thy soul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. O, wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt renew thy strength. The youth shall faint, and the young man shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

"I wish thee all true and solid felicity, with my whole soul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping, that thou may'st not lose, but keep in that divine sense, which, by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princess, my sincere and Christian salutation: grace, mercy and peace, be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jesus.

"Thy business I shall follow with all the diligence and discretion I can, and by the first give thee an account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my brethren are well, and present thee with their dear love, and the rest with thee that love Jesus, the light of the world. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a princess, and therefore I use this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifest, and I know thy integrity. Give, if thou pleasest, the salutation of my dear love to Anna Maria, Countess of Hornes, with the inclosed. Dear Princess, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her which (considering thy circumstances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her stand free, and her freedom will make the passage easier unto thee. Accept what I say, I entreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and respect, in which I write so plainly to thee. Farewell, my dear friend; and the Lord be with thee. I am more than I can say.

"Thy great lover and respectful friend,

"W. PENN."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

IN the latter part of this year, George Fox travelled through many parts of the country, relieving the oppressed so far as lay in his power, and addressing the large meetings which assembled to hear him speak the word of God. He found persecution still raging with its usual violence. In Gloucestershire, John Meredith, a justice of the peace, caused twenty-seven Friends to be indicted at Gloucestershire sessions for absence from the established Church, though he well knew many of them had suffered by the act against conventicles. He arbitrarily demanded of Henry Poutin and Nathaniel Heskins sureties for their good behavior, when no complaint was made against them, and kept them in prison three months; after which he indicted them at the sessions, and they were fined forty pounds for attending meetings. The other prisoners were treated in the most brutal and inhuman manner. William Dobson of Brightwell, in Berkshire, died a prisoner for his conscientious testimony against the payment of tithes, upon which account he had suffered severely, having been robbed of his goods from time to time, during the space of thirteen years; during the most of which he was in prison. For tithes of the value of £4 10s., he had goods taken from him worth £40, and afterwards was persecuted in the court of exchequer, by which he was cast into prison, where he remained until death.

The country became dissatisfied with the government; Parliament was divided into two parties, the court and the country; some were enlisted into the country party by offices, some by pensions and others by inclination. Those who

were for supporting the measures of the court were in favor of enforcing penal laws against non-conformists. The most active justices were of this party, and in the execution of the laws seemed to have considered the disposition and mandates of the court as the principal rule of action, without giving much attention to the superior rule of right and equity. The country party, backed by popular favor, had got the ascendancy in the House of Commons, and carried an address to the king, disapproving of his attachment to France, and requesting him to enter into an alliance with Holland, which he resented as an invasion of his prerogative, and ordered them to adjourn. He however resolved to allay the ill-humor of his subjects by a popular act, which should atone for his unwise measures. Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, was married to the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William III., on the fourth of the eleventh month [November], of this year.

When George Fox came to London in the beginning of this year, he found his friends were engaged in soliciting Parliament to grant relief to those who were suffering persecution by the execution of laws made against Popish recusants. He joined these Friends in their application; but a sudden adjournment of Parliament put a stop to their proceedings.

During the summer, George Fox visited Swarthmore, where he wrote the following epistle to his friends who were suffering persecution or imprisonment.

“MY DEAR FRIENDS,

“Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus’ sake, and for the testimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold you, and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience and content in his will, that ye may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth over the persecuting and destroying spirit, which makes to suffer in Christ (who bruises his head) in whom ye hath both election and salvation. And for God’s elect sake, the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world; as

may be seen throughout the Scriptures of truth; and they that touch them, touch the apple of God's eye, they are so tender to him. And, therefore, it is good for all God's suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for they shall be as Mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Christ, their rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all the elect of God, of the Prophets and the Apostles, and of God's people now, and to the end; glory to the Lord and to the Lamb over all. Remember my dear love to all friends; and do not think the time long, for all time is in the Father's hand, his Power. And therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift; and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his Holy Spirit of faith. Amen.

“GEORGE FOX.”

The attention of Parliament was called at this time to the discovery of a popish plot, and a resolution was passed, stating, “that there was a damnable hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, against the life of the king, and the Protestant religion.” Thus whilst the peaceful Society of Friends, in common with other dissenters, were persecuted under pretence of being seditious, riotous, contrivers of plots in their religious assemblies, and subjected to the penalties of laws made against popish recusants, the real danger to the established Church was concocted by the papists, who, under the favor and protection of the courts, were sanguine in their hopes of re-establishing their religion in its full power and splendor.

The established Church became aware of its danger, and applied the necessary means for correcting the evil; the moderate part were inclined to coalesce with the dissenters, in opposition to the establishment of popery, but the magistrates, who were of the high church party, retained their malignity to dissenters, until their hands were manacled by law. Persecutions by the Acts of Eliz., for twenty pounds per month, and the seizure of two-thirds of the annual rents, were multiplied against the Friends, as the most expedient mode of impoverishing the estates of the members of that Society.



Advantage was taken of the alarm occasioned by the rumor of the popish plot, to increase the rigorous persecution of a people holding opposite principles; under the specious pretext of the necessity, in this season of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies.

While the nation in general was in consternation at the discoveries of the plot, the informers were pursuing their infamous occupation, to the great detriment and oppression of honest men; and a writer of that time truly remarked,—“the papists may laugh because of their victory, now they have a law, whereby one Protestant fights against another.”

The repeated instances of the interference of priests in promoting the execution of the penal laws, leave no room to doubt, that, notwithstanding the endeavors used to exculpate the Church by throwing the odium on Parliament, yet the clergy were deeply concerned both in the promotion and stern execution of these laws.

In this year, Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, an honorable, useful, and virtuous member 1679. of the Society of Friends, departed this life, near Goodnestone in Kent. His body was conveyed to his house in Buckinghamshire, from whence his funeral was attended by a great number of his friends and neighbors, who affectionately loved him on account of his innocent and virtuous demeanor. He was converted by George Fox, at the house of John Crook, in Bedfordshire, in the year 1658.

The mistrust of Parliament and the nation, of the measures and designs of the court from the time of the confederacy with France, were increased by the evidence they received of the popish plot. They passed a new Test Act this year, disabling all persons of that religion for sitting in either House of Parliament. The Duke of York with difficulty got himself exempted; but the fear of popery had made such an impression on Parliament, that it conceived a design to exclude the duke from succession to the crown, on account of his religion; for this reason, and the succeeding steps in the persecution of Danby, the king, finding the two Houses

were too strong for him, prorogued parliament, and then dissolved it.

A new Parliament was summoned, and the king exerted his endeavors to influence the elections, but the feeling of the people defeated his unjust efforts. The Duke of York was obliged to leave the country, and the motion made in the House of Commons to exclude him from the succession to the crown was carried, but the House of Lords rejected it by a large majority.

As Friends were by principle disengaged from all political parties, one might suppose they were less obnoxious to the resentment of any party; but they continued to be harassed still by the execution of penal laws. The first we meet with in this year, is the persecution of George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, at Norwich, by Recorder Francis Bacon. These two men met in that city, accidentally, both being there for the purpose of paying their friends a religious visit. They were arrested at meeting, and brought before the recorder, also a justice of the peace, who demanded twenty pounds from each, for preaching, which they refused to pay.

"Will you take the oath of allegiance?" demanded Bacon.

"We cannot do it," replied George Whitehead.

"If you neither pay the fine nor take the oath, I will commit you to prison," said the recorder. "Do you know there is a statute made in Queen Elizabeth's time, yet in force, to hang such persons as you are?"

"Can you persecute us under that law?" asked Thomas Burr.

"Yes," replied the recorder, "if the king should give orders to have it put in execution, I would do it, and have you hanged if you would not adjure the realm."

He then committed them to jail until the ensuing sessions, which was held about a month afterwards, when they were again summoned for trial. On being brought to the bar, George Whitehead addressed the court as follows: "We

have been five weeks in prison, and it is proper the court should know for what ; pray let our mittimus be read."

" There is no need of your mittimus being read here," replied the recorder ; " I will give an account of the cause. They had gathered together a company of about two hundred, and officers went from me to disperse them, but could not, and thereupon I sent the sheriff, who took them away ; and being brought before me, I proffered them, if they would pay their fines, I would not commit them ; and, upon their refusal, I tendered them the oath of allegiance, and not being willing to take the oath of allegiance, I sent them to prison."

George Whitehead remarked, that free-born Englishmen had a right to travel in any part of the nation, and Thomas Burr, being a dealer in grain, was forced to travel from place to place in order to attend to his business. The recorder said, with a bitter sneer, " Had you not better have been turning your malt at home than coming hither to preach ? The Scripture saith, ' God added to the Church such as should be saved : ' but ye draw from the Church, and the Church of England will never be quiet till some of you be hanged."

George Whitehead then observed, how unbecoming it was, and derogatory to his office as a judge, to speak as an enemy to the prisoners, and to prejudge their cause before it was lawfully before him : as a precedent, he referred to Chief Justice Hussey, who, on being applied to by the king for his opinion in the case of the arch-traitor, Humphry Stafford, declined delivering it until it came judicially before him. He defended his cause so well, and represented the illegal proceeding of the recorder in so clear a light, that to his appeal to the mayor and justices, the mayor replied ; " You have appealed to me ; truly, we are tradesmen, and no lawyers ; we leave matters of law to the recorder—he knows the law, and we must acquiesce in his judgment." The majority of the justices did not approve of the recorder's conduct, but were inclined to set the prisoners at liberty. They were released from the charges specified in the mittimus, but were committed again until the next quarter ses-

sion for refusing to take the oath. The recorder was deprived of his office by a vote of the common council, and a person of more equity and moderation was elected in his place. In consequence of this change, and the interposition of their friends, they were cleared by proclamation at the next sessions, and discharged from prison after a confinement of four months.

Some persecutors wished to impress Parliament with the idea that the Quakers were concerned in the papist plot, but George Fox, who was then in London, published the following declaration on behalf of himself and friends :

“ It is our principle and testimony to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king or any of his subjects ; for we have the spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind of Christ, who came to save men’s lives, and not to destroy them. And we would have the king and all his subjects to be safe. Wherefore, we do declare, that we will endeavor, to the extent of our power, to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters (which shall come to our knowledge) that would destroy the king or his subjects ; this we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, ye know that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we desire you to relieve us and free us from those sufferings ; and that ye will not put upon us to do those things, which we have suffered so much and so long already for not doing ; for if you do, ye will make our sufferings and bonds stronger instead of relieving us.”

Soon after he wrote a paper to all the rulers and magistrates in England, Scotland and Ireland, dissuading  
1681. them from religious persecution, and in the beginning of this year the House of Commons passed the following resolutions :

“ *Resolved* : That it is the opinion of this House, that persecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the penal laws, is at

this time grievous to the subjects, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of this kingdom.

“ *Resolved* : That it is the opinion of this House, that the Acts of Parliament, made in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, against popish recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters.”

These votes showed the sense of the House of Commons, but did not repeal the penal laws. George Fox and his wife were sued for tithes in the Court of Exchequer, and although they proved, in answer to the plaintiff's bill, that no such tithe had ever been demanded or paid off the estate during the forty-three years Margaret Fox had lived, yet because they would not answer upon oath, the court issued an order for their arrest and imprisonment. In the course of the trial, it was proved that George Fox had agreed with his wife, not to claim any right or title to her estate, but leave it in her hands entirely. He laid the whole subject before four judges of London, who put a stay to the persecution, and made the demand of the plaintiff null and void.

## CHAPTER XXX.

It was on the fourth of the third month [March] that the king, in consideration of the services of Sir William Penn, and sundry debts due to him from the crown 1681. at the time of his decease, granted to William Penn, and his heirs, the large tract of land lying on the west side of the river Delaware, in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, then called the New Netherlands. The name was changed by the king to that of Pennsylvania, in respect to William Penn, whom he made absolute governor and proprietor. This favor of the king is supposed to be principally owing to the influence of the Duke of York, with whom, as High Admiral of England, his father was a peculiar favorite; and on his dying bed, Admiral Penn, considering his son exposed to the danger of suffering for religious principles, recommended him to the care and protection of the Duke of York.

Admiral Penn, on his death-bed, gave marks of true repentance for his past actions: he gave his son reasonable and wholesome advice concerning his conduct; and at times was heard to say: "Wo to thee, O England—God will judge thee—great plagues are at thy door." He also said: "God hath forsaken us—we are infatuated, and will shut our eyes. We will not see our true interest and happiness: we shall be destroyed." In taking leave of his family, he said to his son William: "If you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother—live all in love—shun all

matters of evil; and I pray God to bless you all, and he will bless you." A few minutes after this, he expired.

The non-conformists still continued to be persecuted by the execution of the statutes enacted in the reign of 1682. Queen Elizabeth. All the magistrates, judges, justices of the peace, and lieutenants of counties, suspected of leaning to republican principles, were displaced, and their stations filled with approved friends of the court and king. The mention of this change of the magistracy of London accounts for the reverse of the measures adopted in relation to the dissenters. The informers, who had been for some time held in detestation by the citizens, and discountenanced by the magistrates, began now to return to their prey with fresh vigor and insolence, under the encouragement of the court and its partizans.

George Whitehead, in particular, soon felt the effects of the change in the magistracy of London: he was fined three or four times during this and the succeeding year. Sir John Moore fined him twenty pounds for preaching in a meeting at Gracechurch-street, for the payment of which they took goods from his shop: again, by a warrant from Sir William Pritchard, for another fine of the same amount, the constable seized his household goods. Two of his friends, John Edge and Joseph Peckover, who quietly persuaded the constables to suffer an inventory of the goods to be taken before they were removed, were apprehended by constable Manby, and prosecuted for a riot upon his evidence alone; for which they were fined and committed to Newgate, where they remained nearly three months.

George Whitehead made an appeal against this last conviction, and also against another made by Sir Thomas Jenner, recorder of London, for a fine of £20, and upon trial was discharged from both cases. Manby having sold the goods for £15, he only recovered £11 9s. 6d. on the first suit. The charge of prosecuting the two appeals amounted to £17 9s. 8d.; so he computed his loss at £61 7s., beside the damage done to his house and furniture.

In the city of Bristol, Friends were persecuted by some inhuman men, who distinguished their loyalty by an excess of injustice, and their zeal for the Church by abusing their neighbors most shamefully; busily interfering with their meeting, when they had no legal authority. The most notorious of this band of informers were, Sheriff Knight, Alderman Ralph Olyffe, Jr., Helliard, an attorney, together with the subordinate agents, Lugge, Tilley, Caffé, Patrick, Hoare, Watkins, Brand, and Higgens. They destroyed the meeting-house in James' parish, and plundered the dwelling of a widow lady named Elizabeth Batho. They also attacked the Temple-street meeting-house, and accused the innocent persons they abused with creating a riot. During the attack, one of the rioters used an impudent remark to a young female of delicacy and spirit, for which she struck the villain on the head: he informed Helliard of the treatment he received, and the female was sent to Bridewell. They took from seven persons, in five days, about one hundred pounds' worth of goods, fining some for the poverty of others. They persecuted fifty Friends as popish recusants, in order to run them to a pre-munire. John Moore was committed to prison by the Oxford act; and Griffith Jones, a trader from London, being taken at a meeting, had the oath of allegiance tendered to him, and for refusing to take it, was sent to jail.

Nearly all the Friends in Bristol were confined in prison. At the quarter sessions, several of them were indicted, found guilty and fined; but the justices, who were not insensible of their wrongs, acted moderately, and discharged a great many on their promise to appear at the next sessions. But they were soon arrested again for attending meetings, by Knight and Helliard, and several were committed to Newgate. It is clear the court was perfectly aware of these proceedings, for some of the persecutors were promoted in office, for their barbarity.

This year, John Whitehead, an eminent Friend in the ministry, of the East Riding of Yorkshire, was committed to Lincoln Castle, by Justice Burrell, being accused as a Jesuit,



and for preaching at a meeting. He was tried at the ensuing assizes at Lincoln, before Baron Street, but the evidence not sustaining the charge, the oath of allegiance was resorted to, in order to ensnare the prisoner; he refused, and was indicted. He pleaded ably and eloquently on the illegality of the action of the court, but he was convicted, premunired, and cast into prison, where he remained until the general release in 1686.

At Flamstead-end, in Hertfordshire, the justices and constables attacked the meetings, and arrested a number of persons for worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience. At Broughton, in Leicestershire, the meeting was also disturbed, and personal abuse offered to the members and persons assembled. Towards the close of this year, all the public meetings of Protestant dissenters (except the Friends) were suppressed, but in private assemblies they would pray "that it might please God to keep the Quakers steadfast, that so they might be as a wall about them, in order that other dissenters might not be rooted out."

In the beginning of this year, it was computed that seven hundred members of the Society of Friends were suffering imprisonment in England. Persecution raged with greater violence in the city of Bristol than any other place. Great numbers were not only cast into prison, but in their filthy cells they were most inhumanly treated by the jailor, Isaac Dennis. William Dewsbury, who suffered a long confinement in Warwick prison, wrote an epistle of consolation to his friends, who, like himself, preferred a cell where reigned peace to his spirit, to liberty without it. In conclusion, the writer says:—"Thus saith the Lord, hear my word, which is founded unto you from the throne of my grace and eternal glory! Rejoice not too much in spirits, but throw down your crowns before me, that there be not a self-seeking, self-preserving spirit in the family of my people, but all feel the birth immortal, raised up in the resurrection of my life in you all, which truly makes self of no reputation, so that all loftiness be laid low, and all haughtiness be bowed

down in every one, that I the Lord God in you all, may be loved, obeyed, and exalted; who is taking, and will take to me my great power, to exalt the meek upon the earth, and reign over all the pride of the children of men (that is exalted above my witness in their conscience,) that so my sons may be brought from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, in the sight of all people, whom I will make to confess in subjection to my power. That you are the beloved people of the most high God, and of the righteous seed which the Lord hath blessed; and not any weapon formed against you shall prosper, but come to naught, which will be hastened for your comforts, and certainly performed according to what is here declared, to your eternal joy; and you shall assuredly know the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

All the abuse that Friends had already sustained not being sufficient to satiate the vindictive spirit of the persecutors, many of them were returned into the Exchequer Court on the statute of 20*l.* for absence from the national worship, the amount of which fines came to the enormous sum of 16,440*l.*; several were distrained, but how much was levied for these fines we have no correct account. Not satisfied with depriving them of their liberty, property, and personal ease, these persecutors determined to see how far they could succeed in an attempt against their lives. They began with Richard Vickris, who had before felt the effects of their malevolence in fines, imprisonments, and personal abuse. He was the son of Robert Vickris, formerly a merchant and alderman of Bristol, and afterwards of Chew-Magna in Somersetshire. Richard was convinced of the principles of Friends in his youth, and to divert his mind from this humble Society, his father sent him on a tour to the continent, but was disappointed in his intention. Disgusted with the superstition of the ceremonious religion that everywhere met his view, he returned to his native land, and openly embraced that profession to which he had formed an attachment before leaving home. In the year 1680, he was imprisoned upon an excommunication; he was afterwards subjected to frequent fines

and distraints for attending meetings; and now they proceeded to put the statute of 35 Eliz. in force against him, the penalty of which we have mentioned in several places.

At the sessions, previous to the time called Easter, Richard Vickris was indicted, but demurring to the jurisdiction of the court and refusing to plead, he was committed to prison. At the following sessions he was admitted to bail for his appearance to answer the indictment; during the summer he procured a Habeas Corpus to remove his trial from that court. On the twentieth of the eighth month [August], he presented his Habeas Corpus, had his recognizance discharged, and was delivered into the custody of the sheriff. At the instigation of Sir John Knight, he was brought to trial on the twenty-third of the same month, and after a forced trial, the judge pronounced the following sentence: "You shall conform, or adjure the realm, in three months, or suffer death as a felon, without the benefit of clergy." The recorder then admonished him to conform. "I presume," said Richard Vickris, "you will not desire my conformity against my conscience, and to play the hypocrite, with man is hateful, much more with God."

He was remanded back to prison, where he awaited his sentence undismayed. His wife went to London to intercede with the government in his favor, and by the assistance of some friends, gained admission to the Duke of York, who, on hearing her statement, said: "Neither my royal brother, nor myself, desire any of his subjects should suffer for the exercise of their consciences, if they conduct themselves peaceably towards the government." The duke then gave such directions as were effectual in procuring his discharge. The prisoner was then removed by Habeas Corpus and writ of error from Newgate in Bristol to London, and brought before the King's Bench, where, upon the errors assigned by counsellor Pollexfen, he was cleared of the sentence delivered in execution of the 35 Eliz., by Sir George Jeffries, Lord Chief Justice, and to the great joy of his aged father, his dis-

tressed wife, and family and friends throughout the nation, he was legally discharged.

George Whitehead in his journal gives the following account of the suffering of some Friends in London at this time :

“ Our being shut out of our meeting-houses for divers years in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and our meetings kept in the street, in all sorts of weather, was a trial and hardship upon us, even upon old and young, men and women. But that trial was not so great as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by a pack of ravenous informers ; although it was no small hardship to our persons to be kept out of doors in the great, severe and long frost and snow in the year 1683, for about three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen, that horses, coaches and carts could pass to and fro upon it, and a street be erected and stand over it.”

At this time England was convulsed with politics. The country party viewed with great uneasiness the arbitrary proceedings of the government ; they still thought the exclusion of the Duke of York was necessary, and for the consideration of this important subject they had several meetings. The Duke of Monmouth was at the head of this plot, but before it was matured, several of the ringleaders were arrested, tried and executed. The brilliant, witty, fascinating Earl of Essex perished in the gloomy walls of the Tower ; Lord Russell, eldest son of the Duke of Bedford, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the court, and suffered on the block for high treason ; and Algernon Sidney lost his life upon the scaffold, on account of his action in the same plot.

The dissenters were persecuted with fresh vigor, and the Friends, unwilling to voluntarily bear this additional suffering, wrote an address to the king, exculpating their Society from all enmity against the government. It concluded with the following paragraph :

“ Therefore we humbly entreat thee, O king, in princely justice, Christian charity and compassion, to open our

prison doors, and take off our bonds, where the innocent are opprest in thy land, that fear God, and (in conversation) truly honor the king ; and suffer not the ruin of such as are quiet in the land, the widow and the fatherless, for their peaceable consciences, to lie at the door of a prince, professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ."

This address was presented to the king at Windsor, on the eighth of the eighth month [August], by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Cornfield, on behalf of themselves and the Society of Friends, but it did not produce any relaxation of the oppressive measures during the reign of Charles the Second. Towards the latter part of this year, Princess Anne, daughter of the Duke of York, was married to Prince George of Denmark, and the Duke of Monmouth was restored to favor.

Notwithstanding the opposition made to the succession of the Duke of York, he was proclaimed king immediately 1684. after the death of his brother without the least tumult or shadow of opposition. He made an opening speech before the council at Whitehall, in which he disclaimed arbitrary principles, and promised his protection to the established Church and the liberties of the people. As usual he received congratulatory addresses, couched in servile terms of adulation, from every part of the kingdom. Amongst the rest he received a fictitious letter, remarkable for its brevity, uncouthness and blunt familiarity of expression, which has been styled by Eachard and Hume the general address of the Quakers. We give it entire.

" We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told that thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England, no more than we, wherefore, we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty thou allowest thyself. Which doing we wish thee all manner of happiness."

At the death of King Charles, it was found by computa-

tion, that one thousand and five hundred Friends were in the various prisons of the kingdom. The grievous sufferings they had long endured with patience, induced them, on every change of government, to apply to the new rulers, in hopes at last to obtain redress.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

ABOUT a month after the accession of King James to the throne, George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, and Alexander Parker, waited upon him with the following Address :

“ TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

“ The humble application of the people called Quakers :

“ Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late King Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed, we, thy subjects, heartily desire that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy, in the use of thy great power to his glory, the king's honor, and the kingdom's good. And it being our sincere resolution according to our peaceable principles and conversation (by the assistance of Almighty God), to live peaceably and honestly as becomes true and faithful subjects, under the king's government, and a conscientious people that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope that the king's tenderness will appear, and extend with his power to express the same, recommending to his princely clemency the case of our present suffering friends hereunto annexed.”

An account of the number of sufferers was then added, stating the place of their confinement and their several conditions.

Soon after, the Friends of London submitted a more copious account of their sufferings to the king and both Houses of Parliament, in which they recapitulated the grievous persecutions they sustained by no less than ten penal

laws,\* which, for a long series of years, had been rigorously enforced by ignorant magistrates, to gratify a causeless enmity. They at length obtained the following warrant to Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-general.

“ JAMES R.

“ Whereas, we are given to understand that several of our subjects, commonly called Quakers, in the schedules hereunto annexed, are either convicted, or, upon process, in order to their conviction, of premunire, for not swearing, or indicted or presented for not coming to Church, or convicted for the same, and several of them have been returned into our Exchequer, and in charge for twenty pounds *per mensem*, according to the statutes in that case provided, and some of them lie in prison upon writs *de excommunicatione capiendo*, and other processes, for the causes aforesaid; and we being willing that our said subjects, and other our subjects, commonly called Quakers, who are or have been persecuted, indicted, convicted, or imprisoned, for any of the causes aforesaid, should receive the full benefit of our general pardon, which we have been pleased to grant to our loving subjects by our royal proclamation, with all possible ease to them, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby authorize, will, and require you to cause such of our subjects, commonly called Quakers, who are in prison for any of the causes aforesaid, to be forthwith discharged out of prison, and forthwith to stop and discharge, or cause to be discharged, by giving your consent on our behalf, all fines, forfeit-

\* The following is a list of the statutes:

The 1st Eliz., ch. 2; for twelve pence a Sunday.

The 5th Eliz., ch. 23; *de excommunicatione capiendo*.

The 23d Eliz., ch. 1; for L.20 a month.

The 29th Eliz., ch. 6, for continuation.

The 35th Eliz., ch. 1, for adjuring the realm on pain of death.

The 3d James the First, ch. 4, Premunire.

The 13th and 14th King Charles II., for transportation.

The 17th Charles II., ch. 2, against non-conformists.

The 22d Charles II., ch. 2, against seditious conventicles.

The 27th Henry VIII., ch. 20, for the recovery of tithes.



ures, or sums of money, charged upon any of our subjects, commonly called Quakers, for not coming to church, or set upon them upon any process for the same ; as also all processes, indictments, presentments, and convictions, for any of the said causes, by entering *nolle prosequi*, or otherwise, as you shall judge necessary, for rendering that our pardon most effectual and beneficial for our said subjects ; and for your so doing this shall be your warrant.

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 15th day of March, 1685. By His Majesty’s command.

“ SUNDERLAND, P.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved }  
our Attorney-general.” }

Persecution not only ceased, but many who were confined by prison-walls on account of their religion, obtained liberty through the favors of a popish prince, which they were unable to do under his brother, Charles the Second.

We will deviate a few moments, for the purpose of mentioning the actions of the unhappy Duke of Monmouth, who, on the death of his father, King Charles, went to Brussels. He raised three men-of-war and some forces in Holland, with which he sailed to the western coast of England, where he published a proclamation against King James, written, it was thought at the time, by the violent Robert Ferguson. The Duke of Argyle landed in Scotland, and endeavored to raise a rebellion there before the Duke of Monmouth should land in the west. Both of them were defeated, taken, and executed within a few days ; and a great number of their followers were executed, without the form of a trial, by the Earl of Feversham and Colonel Kirk.

Even when the Friends were released from imprisonment, they were exposed to the power of unprincipled informers. The king having kindly received them at sundry times, they were encouraged to present a complaint and petition against the informers and their iniquitous practices. The king appointed Richard Graham and Philip

Burton commissioners to make an examination of the subject, and they held their meeting at Clifford's Inn on the 4th of the fifth month [May]. The king in cabinet, on the 11th of the fifth month [May], referred the report and the petition to the lord chancellor, in order to correct the irregular proceedings of some justices and informers; besides which, he signified his pleasure to the subordinate magistrates and justices, that they should put a stop to the depredations of these men. George Fox, who resided mostly in London, wrote an epistle of caution to his friends, bidding them beware of carelessness, now that they were favored with liberty:

“Friends: The Lord, by his eternal power, hath opened the heart of the king to open the prison-doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty; and hath given a check to the informers, so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my desires are, that both liberty and sufferings, all may be sanctified to his people; and Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the sea, and allayeth the storms and tempests, and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him who careth for you. For when ye were in your jails and prisons, then the Lord did, by his eternal arm and power, uphold you, and sanctified them to you (and unto some he had made them as a sanctuary), and tried his people as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and that he was in all places; who crowneth the year with his goodness. (Psalms lxxv.) Therefore, let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure, and clean, and to serve God and Christ, and one another, in the glorious, peaceable Gospel of life and salvation; which glory shineth over God's camp, and his great prophet, and bishop, and shepherd, is among or in the

midst of them, exercising his heavenly offices in them, so that you, his people, may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that destroyeth the devil and his work, and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's people's heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets' and apostles' rock in days passed, and is now a rock of our age, which rock and foundation of God standeth sure. And upon this the Lord God established all his people. Amen.

“GEORGE FOX.

“London, the 25th of the  
7th month, 1686.”

In this year, David Barclay departed this life, at his house in Ury, Scotland, and on his death-bed he clearly manifested the great blessing of living in peace with God. Two days before his death, he said to his son Robert, “I shall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren, who are gone before me.” Happy in the prospect of his son succeeding him in a life of piety, virtue, and religious conversation, he said;—“The perfect discovery of the day-spring from on high, how great a blessing hath it been to me and my family!” One of his friends praying by his bed-side, he lifted up his hands, and said, “Amen, amen, for ever! How precious is the love of God among his children, and their love one to another! thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if ye love one another. My love is with you, and I leave it among you.” His last words were uttered in prayer. “Praises to the Lord. Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done in earth, as it is done in heaven.” Soon after which he breathed his last.

Anne, wife of George Whitehead, also died this year. She was a woman possessing the purest traits of piety, benevolence, and charity, adorned with the wisdom which is from above, peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; full

of mercy, and of a tender heart enlisted in God's work, she brought forth good fruit. Her time was employed in visiting the poor and sick, ministering to their wants, and in whispering words of comfort to those who were confined in prisons. A friend to the widow and fatherless, she was justly esteemed an ornament to her profession, for which she more than once undauntingly suffered, when it fell to her lot. A number of her old friends visited her sick chamber, and to some questions she replied ;—" I have my memory very well, and my understanding is clear, though I am very weak ; but I am given up to the will of the Lord, whether to live or to die ; for I have been faithful to him in what I knew, both in life and death." To another visitor, she said ;—" If I never see thy face more, it is well with me, God knoweth my integrity, and how I have been and walked before him." At another time, she said ;—" I have done with all things in this life, and have nothing that troubles me ; but am in true peace and ease, in every way." She thus departed in peace on the twenty-seventh of the fifth month [May], in the sixty-third year of her age, leaving impressions of an affectionate regard for her memory, on the hearts of many who were relieved by her charity, and comforted in affliction by her ministering spirit.

It was in the beginning of this year, Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been published by Henry the Fourth, for the security of the Protestants, and was declared irrevocable. Multitudes fled from the continent, and were forced to find an asylum in foreign countries. Nearly fifty thousand took refuge in England, and the king's friendly reception and protection of the fugitives, and the blame he attached to the king of France, were ineffectual in curing his subjects of their jealousy or their antipathy to his religion.

It was in the fourth month [April], the king published his long expected declaration for liberty of conscience to all his subjects, which stated " That henceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical matters, for not coming

to church, for not receiving the sacraments, or for any other non-conformity with the established religion, or for performing religious worship in any other way, should be suspended." The Friends, as well as other dissenters, sent up addresses to the king, and to William Penn, who presented the address of the Society of Friends; the king returned the following reply :

" GENTLEMEN :

" I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know (I am sure you do, Mr. Penn) that it was always my principle, that conscience ought not to be forced; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their conscience. And what I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live; and I hope, before I die, to settle it so that after ages shall have no reason to alter it."

The dissenters as well as the king were desirous that the repeal of the penal laws might receive a parliamentary sanction; yet the ends they had respectively in view were such as to prevent a cordial coalition. The king's design in promoting and establishing popery in the nation, became more apparent every day. Notwithstanding he had prohibited Protestant ministers from preaching on doctrinal points, yet some of them would not obey the proclamation; and, provoked at this opposition, the king erected a new ecclesiastical communion to enforce obedience to his mandates. He sent an ambassador to Rome, to acknowledge his spiritual obedience to the Pope and reconcile his kingdom to him. A popish nuncio was sent to London, who made a public entry at Windsor, with all the usual formalities. He attempted to force Papists into the universities, and succeeded in deposing the Fellows of Magdalen College, at Oxford, to make room for Romanists. The king also permitted the Jesuits to erect a college in the Savoy at London, and suffered the Friars to walk the public streets in the dress of their monastical orders. In these days the patrons of the Church of Rome asserted liberty of conscience to be a Christian duty; but can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his

spots? The king labored also to persuade the Prince and Princess of Orange to give their assent to the repealing of the test and penal laws, but they refused. Herr Fagel, counsellor and chief pensionary at the Hague, declared the judgment of the prince and princess on this subject, and stated, "That they were willing to assent to the repealing of the penal laws, as far as they had any tendency to the exercise of worship; but as for those that debarred Papists from sitting in Parliament, of which the test was not the least, they could not give their assent to the repealing of such limitations."

The king's declaration for the liberty of conscience was, on the twenty-seventh of the fourth month [April], 1688. republished, "To show that he was firm and constant in his resolution, and that his intentions were not changed since he issued it out, to excite his subjects to join in it, and to choose such members of Parliament as might do their part to finish what he had begun." To this document was annexed an order of the council, for reading the declaration in all the churches and chapels throughout the kingdom; and ordering the bishops to send and distribute the declaration throughout their several dioceses for the benefit of parishioners. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops petitioned the king "not to insist on the distribution and reading of his declaration, alleging that their great adverseness to the distribution and publication of it in their churches, proceeded neither from any want of duty and obedience to his majesty; nor from any want of due tenderness to dissenters; but because it was founded upon such a dispensing power, as had been often declared illegal in Parliament."

Although they waited personally on the king with their petition, without communicating the contents to any person whatsoever, yet he resented it as an insult and committed them to the Tower. This extraordinary proceeding occasioned a great alarm among the people. They were indicted

and tried for publishing a seditious libel, but were acquitted by the judges who presided at the King's Bench.

In this year Theophila Townsend, a woman of knowledge and talent, published a book, in which she gave an account of the grievous persecution of her friends in Gloucestershire, and a narrative of her imprisonment for three years in Gloucester Castle. In addressing those who despised Friends, she said: "I do not write this from a spirit of revenge against any, but it is in the love of God, to warn you, and to exhort you to repentance, that ye may find mercy with the Lord, which is the real desire of my soul. I can truly say in the presence of the Lord, that I have nothing in my heart but love and good will to the worst of our enemies, and this is purity of heart, and in sincerity of mind. I really desire your eternal peace and well-being, though ye have hardened your hearts against the Lord, and his truth and people. Turn to the Lord, I beseech you, bow before the Almighty, who will plead with all flesh, and shall call all to an account, and reward every one according to what he hath done in the body, whether it be good or bad. Consider this, therefore, whilst ye have time, and mind the things that belong to your peace, before they are hid from your eyes; for the long suffering of the Lord will come to an end, who said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man. Therefore whilst the Spirit of the Lord, his light, his grace yet strives in your hearts, to turn you off from your evil ways, be willing to embrace it, believe in it, take counsel of it, submit to it with all your heart, be willing to be led and guided by it, and incline your hearts to follow it in all things, and then it will lead you to rest and peace with the Lord for ever."

When King James was declining in power, the odium resulting from his measures was attached to all who were supposed to be in any manner friendly towards him. William Penn was exposed to the most undeserved obloquy on this account; he was decried as a papist, and as his innocence needed no justification, he silently submitted to the slander. William Popples, Secretary of the Land Office, and

a particular friend of William Penn, wrote him a letter on the subject, in which he begged him to answer these accusations against his reputation. In reply, he ascribed his free access to the king to the intimacy that at one time existed between his majesty and his father, Admiral Penn. To this he added: "My father's humble request to him upon his death-bed was, to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me to; and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment I addressed myself to him; I say, when all this is considered, anybody that hath the least pretence to good nature, gratitude or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the king." In another part of this letter, he says; "Whatsoever divides man's heart from God, separates it from his neighbor; and he that loves self more than God, can never love his neighbor as himself. For, as the Apostle said, If we do not love him, whom we have seen; how can we love God, whom we have not seen?"

"Since all of all parties profess to believe in God, Christ the Spirit and the scripture, that the soul is immortal, that there are eternal rewards and punishments, and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other; I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve, in the strength of God, to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the rest, in which we differ. I am persuaded, the change and conflict which that pious course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our natures to compound easily for all the rest, and we might hope yet to see happy days in poor England. And how is it possible for the eminent men of every religious persuasion (especially the present ministers of the parishes of England), to think of giving an account to God at the last day, without using the utmost of their endeavors to moderate the members of their respective communions towards those that differ from them, is a mystery to me; but this I know, and must lay it at their doors, I charge also my own soul with it, God requires moderation and humility from us; for he is at hand,



who will not spare to judge our impatience, if we have no patience for one another. May the eternal God rebuke the wrath of man, and humble all under the sense of the evil of this day; and yet, unworthy as we are, give us peace for thy holy name's sake!"

This year REBECCA TRAVERS died in London. She was born in the year 1609, and educated among the Baptists, of which sect she became a zealous professor. She was converted to the Society of Friends in 1654, through the ministry of James Nayler. She was a virtuous woman, and suffered severe imprisonments several times on account of her religion. She labored successfully in the city of London, and published several tracts of her religious experience, and stating: "That though she had been a reader of the scriptures from a child of six years old, as constantly as most persons, yet when, by the power of the gospel, she was turned from darkness to light, they appeared another thing in her view, being clearly explained to her state and understanding, as she came to learn of that spirit which gave them forth." After a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, she died in peace on the 15th day of the fourth month [April], in the eightieth year of her age.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

THE king was now an avowed Papist, and the hopes of the Protestants were centered on the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne. But these hopes were somewhat damped by a report of the queen's pregnancy, which being a circumstance peculiarly favorable to the views and designs of the Romanists, occasioned the Protestants some uneasiness.

The dissatisfaction of the people was so general as to induce them to unite in inviting the Prince of Orange to visit England and assume the throne. He sailed in a fleet, with twelve thousand land forces; James, deserted by many of his former friends, fled to France and took protection at the court of St. Germain's. William, Prince of Orange, entered London, and was hailed as the deliverer of England. A convention was summoned, which conferred the crown upon him and his consort, with the title of William and Mary, king and queen of England. He stated to the convention "that he desired them to meet to advise him in the best manner how to pursue the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the restoring of the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and settling the same, that they might not be in danger of being again subverted."

William and Mary were crowned at Westminster, on the eleventh of the second month [February] by the Bishop 1689. of London, (the Archbishop of Canterbury refusing to take part in the ceremony) and they were soon after declared king and queen of Scotland. War was proclaimed against France, and the late King James, aided by the French king, went over to Ireland with forces, but was defeated by

William in a bloody battle near the river Boyne. But it would not be in place with the intention of this work to give a full account of this revolution. After the king appointed his privy counsel, they judged it expedient to convert the present convention into a parliament, in order that the new settlement might be established by a legal sanction, and it was thought hazardous to the peace of the nation to proceed to a new election, until the king was more firmly settled on the throne. The parliament now counting themselves invested with full power to discharge their functions, proceeded to the enacting of such laws as appeared requisite to attain the ends of the revolution. As the fears and the aversion of the Protestant subjects to Popery had given rise to a coalition, which brought about this revolution, the first attempt of parliament was to strengthen this coalition, in uniting the Protestants of the different denominations in stronger bonds of alliance against their common adversaries, and attaching them closely to the present government, by destroying the "sacramental test," and permitting all Protestants to hold office, but this bill was rejected by the lords. The next measure in favor of the Dissenters was attended with better success. It was the Act of Toleration, entitled, "An Act for exempting Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws;" which passed without much opposition. Some were in favor of excluding Friends, in consequence of a declaration made in the house by some adverse member, "that Quakers were no Christians." The following article was proposed to be inserted in the bill, as a test: "That all such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever; and acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the old and new Testament to be the revealed will and word of God."

Upon viewing this clause of the bill the Friends, who were attending Parliament to solicit the passing thereof in such a manner as might give effectual relief to them and their brethren, as well as to other dissenters, objected to some

expression in the above paragraph as unscriptural; at the desire of Sir Thomas Clarges and some others who were friendly, they proposed the following instead: "I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

George Whitehead, Vaughton, William Mead and John Osgood, were examined before the committee of the whole, and gave full satisfaction as to their belief on this subject, which evidence was conducive in gaining the end they sought.

This act gave liberty to dissenters to hold their meetings without molestation, provided the doors were not locked, barred or bolted during the time of such meeting. It was also provided that they should take an oath; but as Friends entertained conscientious scruples against taking an oath, they were entitled to the full benefit of the act, by subscribing to the following declaration:

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary. And I solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes, excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

It was also enacted, that no congregation or assembly be allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting should be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or the archdeacon of the archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions for the county, city or place, in which such meeting should be held, and registered in the

bishop's and archdeacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said quarter sessions, for which the registrar or clerk should not take a greater fee or reward than six pence.

The Friends, at last, were by this act legally tolerated in their religion, and exempted from the persecution they had been long subjected to, for keeping their religious meetings and declining the oath of allegiance and supremacy. But they were still subjected to the power of "spiritual courts," if they refused to pay tithes; the fifth clause of the act being:

"Provided always that nothing herein contained should be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes, and other parochial duties, to the church or minister, nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court or elsewhere for the same."

Although the king was opposed to persecution, yet this exemption was out of his power to grant; being prevented by the coronation oath; and the sequel will prove that the spirit of persecution survived the act of toleration.

This year died Alexander Parker. He was born on the borders of Yorkshire, near Bolton in Lancashire; he 1690. was well educated, and early in life was convinced of the truth of the religion professed by Friends, after which conversion he became an eminent minister. When Colonel Hacker sent George Fox to Oliver Cromwell, he accompanied him on his journey to London. He wrote several treatises and epistles to his friends, and finished a life, spent in doing good, on the eighth of the first month [January].

William Penn published proposals for the establishment of a settlement in Pennsylvania; but his design was prevented by an accusation which was brought against him for being concerned in a new plot. When King William went to attend the Congress at the Hague, some of the disaffected party resolved to take advantage of his absence to form a new conspiracy against the government. To accomplish their purpose, Lord Preston, and a man named Ashton, sailed for France, to concert measures with James, relative

to their future actions. They were captured in the vessel, and Ashton was immediately executed; but Lord Preston, to save his own life, turned state-evidence—accusing several noblemen and others, among whom was William Penn, of being concerned in the conspiracy to reinstate King James on the throne.

William Penn defended himself before the king and council; but the tide of public opinion against him was too strong, and by the advice of some of his friends, he appeared but few times in public during the next two or three years. Lest his friends might be induced to believe the false accusations, he sent the following epistle to the London yearly meeting :

“ My beloved, dear, and honored Brethren :

“ My unchangeable love salutes you ; and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings, neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me, your afflicted but not forsaken friend and brother. My enemies are yours, and, in the ground, mine for your sakes ; and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely against me ; for wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge that I knew not, who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises, and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt to no man ; but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace, might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, and lay me near you, my dear and beloved brethren ; and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some, that we may yet meet in the congregation of his people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of his chosen in all generations, be in

the midst of you and crown your most solemn assemblies with his blessed presence; that his tender, meek, lowly, and heavenly love and life may flow among you, and that he would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you; that edified and comforted, you may return home, to his glorious high praise; who is worthy for ever! To whom I commit you, desiring to be remembered of you before Him, in the nearest and freshest accesses; who cannot forget you in the nearest relation,

“Your faithful Friend and Brother,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

We are now called upon to record the death of Robert Barclay, who, at the age of forty-two, laid down his life in this world, to enjoy in realms of bliss that happy state which God, in his mercy, hath promised to all who obey his commands, in living an honest, upright, and righteous life. To the friends around his death-bed he said: “God is good still; and though I am under a great weight of weakness and sickness, yet my peace flows: and this I know, whatever exercises may be permitted to come upon me, they shall tend to God’s glory, and my salvation—in that I rest.” He died at his house at Ury, in Scotland, on the third day of the eighth month [August], of this year. In speaking of his character, William Penn says: “He loved the truth and way of God, as revealed among us, above all the world, and was not ashamed of it before men; but bold and able in maintaining it. Sound in judgment, strong in argument, cheerful in sufferings, of a pleasant disposition; yet solid, plain, and exemplary in conversation. He was a learned man, a good Christian, an able minister, a dutiful son, a loving husband, a tender and careful father, an easy master, and a good, kind neighbor and friend. These eminent qualities, in one who employed them so serviceably, and who had not lived much above half the life of a man, aggravated the loss of him, especially in that nation where he lived.”

George Fox spent his latter years in the city of London and its neighborhood, as the place he could be most essentially and universally serviceable to his friends.

The last epistle he wrote was to his friends in Ireland, sympathizing with the hardships and dangers by which they were surrounded, on account of the war in that kingdom. On the next day, he preached a powerful and effectual sermon at Gracechurch-street meeting, after which he prayed ; then went to Henry Goldney's in White Hart court, accompanied by some friends, to whom he said : " I thought I felt the cold strike to my heart, as I came out of the meeting-house, but I am glad I was there ; now I am clear ; I am fully clear."

During his illness, he said to some friends ; " All is well—the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits."

William Penn, who was with him at the hour of death, says : " As he lived so he died, feeling the same eternal power that raised him to be greatly serviceable in his generation, and preserved him steadfast in a life of righteousness, to raise him above the fear of death in his last moments. In full assurance he triumphed over death ; and was so calm in his spirit, to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice ; recommending to some of us, who were with him, the dispersion of an epistle he had lately written, and some of his books ; but above all, the care of Friends, and of all Friends those in Ireland and America, twice over repeating ' mind poor Friends in Ireland and America.' And to some who inquired about his situation, he answered, ' never heed ; the Lord's presence is over all weakness and death—the Lord reigns, blessed be the Lord.' "

The third day, after preaching his last sermon in Gracechurch street, he was removed from works to rewards, expiring on the thirteenth of the eleventh month [November], of this year, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

On the sixteenth of the said month, his body was taken to



the Friends' burial ground, near Bunhill fields, attended by a large concourse of persons. He was a man of tall stature and large body, but remarkably temperate in eating, drinking, and sleeping. His deficiency in literature, and want of a liberal education, have furnished topics of ridicule for some writers who have noticed him. No man, perhaps, had a better opportunity of judging the intrinsic value of his mind, and of discovering the merits beneath the unpolished surface, than William Penn, who describes him to be "A man whom God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth; a discernor of other men's spirits and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding, which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might be found unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructive it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as text to many fairer declarations. And indeed is showed beyond contradiction, that God sent him, in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had, therefore, nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy."

Although we have quoted largely on the character of George Fox, we cannot omit inserting the following paragraph, written by his friend Thomas Elwood.

"He was, indeed, a heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honor of God before all things. He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in laboring in it, steady in his testimony to it, immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge—clear in opening heavenly mysteries—plain and powerful in preaching—serving in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom—quick in discern-

ing—sound in judgment—able and ready in giving—discreet in keeping counsel—a lover of righteousness—an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial, in all things, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse, and free from affectation in speech and carriage. A severe reprovcr of hard and obstinate sinners—a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs—easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest, where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, and the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful, he was to all, that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care; for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought.”

Nothing of much importance took place this year, except the death of Stephen Crisp. He died during the 1692. latter part of the eighth month [August], in the city of

London. Having spent a life of devotion to the service of God and man, he was well prepared to enjoy the eternal peace which is the reward of all who follow the strait and narrow way. To George Whitehead, who visited him about four days before his decease, he said,—“I see an end of mortality, but cannot come at it. I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this troublesome and painful body; yet there is no cloud in my way; I have full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus, my integrity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord, and I have peace and justification in Christ Jesus, who made me upright in the sight of God. I have fought the good fight of faith, and I have run my course, and am waiting for the crown of life that is laid up for me.” To another, he said,—“Serve the truth for the simple truth’s sake, and it will preserve thee, as it hath done me.” He desired to be remembered to all his friends, and on

the twentieth day of the eighth month [August], he departed this life, at Wandsworth, in Surrey, near London, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His body was removed to the meeting-house in Gracechurch street, and from thence, accompanied by many Friends and others, to their burial ground, at Bunhill fields.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

GEORGE KEITH, who had occasioned considerable trouble in Pennsylvania, since the death of George Fox, re-1693. turned to England, and appeared at the London yearly meeting, for this year. Here he conducted himself in a very strange and passionate manner. It appeared that Thomas Elwood had written an excellent epistle to Friends, briefly commemorating the mercies of the Almighty, and warning them to beware of that spirit of contention and division which had appeared of late in George Keith ; which epistle was submitted to and approved by the meeting. George Keith wished them to recall this epistle, but he refused to retract the unjust representations he had made to the world. The yearly meeting heard him patiently, until he withdrew of his own accord, then approved of the following, which was submitted by George Whitehead.

“ That the said George Keith hath of late been, and yet is, actuated by an unchristian spirit, which hath moved and led him to stir up contention and strife in the Church of Christ, and to cause divisions, separations, and breaches among them that profess the truth ; and that the tendency of divers of his late writings and actions hath been to expose the truth of the friends thereof, to the reproach of the world, did unanimously agree, and declare it to be the sense and judgment of this meeting ; and it is the sense and judgment of this meeting, that the said George Keith is gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the Church of Christ ; and that whilst he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable state, he ought not to preach or pray in any

Friends' meeting, nor be owned or received as one of us, until by a public and hearty acknowledgment of the great offence he has given, and hurt he hath done, and condemnation of himself therefor, he gives proof of his unfeigned repentance, and does his endeavor to remove and take off the reproach he hath brought upon truth and Friends, which in the love of God we heartily desire for his soul's sake."

He held a separate meeting at Turner's Hall in London, and gave notice by a public advertisement that he intended to point out the errors of the Quaker doctrines, inviting all Friends to attend. Lest they should be misrepresented by this apostate, several of their number wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "The Christian Doctrine and Society of the People called Quakers, cleared, &c.," and when Keith published an account of his meeting at Turner's Hall, he was answered by Thomas Elwood in an article entitled, "An answer to George Keith's narrative of his proceedings at Turner's Hall, wherein his charges against divers of the people, called Quakers, are fairly considered, examined and refuted." It was not answered; the apostate seems to have grown weary of the controversy. A person named Lesley enlisted himself as a volunteer in George Keith's cause, and published an anonymous work, entitled, "The Snake in the Grass." In reply to this, Thomas Elwood proved, "First, that the matters therein charged upon us, are, generally, the same that have been charged on us heretofore by Faldo, Hicks, and other adversaries, and refuted over and over again. Secondly, that the things they charge on us, as errors and heresy, are not pretended to be proved by any plain express positions or assertions of ours; but from our adversaries' own perverse meanings, and wrested constructions of our words, always denied and rejected by us. Thirdly, that the words and passages brought by our adversaries for proof of their charges against us, are not taken out of our doctrinal treatises, or declarations of faith and principles; but (for the most part) out of controversial books, wherein, oftentimes, the scope and aim of the author is, not so much to assert or express his

own principles or doctrines, as to impugn and expose his adversaries, by showing the contradictions, absurdities, and ill-consequences of his adversaries' opinions; from whence, positively to conclude the author's own judgment, is neither safe nor fair. Fourthly, that however any of our former adversaries might have been misled in their judgments concerning us, George Keith, who hath now moved this controversy against us, knows full well that we do not hold those things, either generally as a people, or as particular persons, which he has charged on us as errors."

The author of "the Snake in the Grass" was answered by Joseph Wyeth in a small book, called, "A Switch for the Snake," which proved its pages to be full of misrepresentations, fabulous tales and crafty imposture.

This year Queen Mary died of the small-pox. She was a woman not more eminent in her elevated rank of 1694. life, than for her intellectual endowments and virtuous disposition. The ambassador of the king, her father, at the Hague, who endeavored to convert her to the Roman religion, once said, "That he never before believed that a woman was to be found so well experienced in the doctrine of the Christian religion; and therefore he would not advise any to enter into discourse with her about that matter. She awaited the change with a perfect resignation to the Divine Will, and continued to the last in the hope of recovering the reward of her good works. A few hours before she died, she said, "I believe now that I shall die shortly; and I thank God that in my youth I have learned this true doctrine, that repentance ought not to be deferred to a dying-bed." The king, who loved his wife dearly and devotedly, did not leave her chamber during the whole of her sickness, and on the twenty-seventh of the twelfth month [December], she departed this life in peace.

The zealous partizans of the late King James, on the supposition that the interest of William was weakened by the death of the queen, renewed their efforts for his restoration, both by an application to the French king, to enable James

to make a descent upon England, and also by a plot at home to assassinate King William, which designs were timely discovered and defeated.

The two Houses of Parliament entered into an association to defend King William's life and government; and in case he should come to a violent death, to revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. Numbers joined this association; but on account of their conscientious principles against taking up arms, Friends could not become members, but manifested their loyalty and fidelity to the king, by publishing the following declaration:

"The ancient testimony and principle of the people called Quakers, renewed with respect to the king and government, and touching the present association:—

"We the said people do solemnly and sincerely declare, that it hath been our judgment and principle from the first day we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busybodies in matters above our station, much less to plot or contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king, and for the safety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us.

"And according to this our ancient and innocent principles, we often have given forth our testimony, and now do, against all plotting, conspiracies, and contriving insurrections against the king or the government, and against all treacherous, barbarous, and murderous designs whatsoever, as works of the devil and darkness; and we sincerely bless God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them by law, esteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

"And whereas we the said people are required to sign the

said association, we sincerely declare that our refusing so to do, is not out of any dissatisfaction to the king of these realms, but purely because we cannot, for conscience sake, kill or revenge, either for ourselves or any man else.

“And we believe that the timely discovery and prevention of the late barbarous design and mischievous plot against the king and government, and the sad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God, for which we and the whole nation have great cause to be humbly thankful to Him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.”

Friends still suffered many inconveniences and trials, on account of the non-payment of tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. The clergy were very rigorous in executing the penalties of the law against them, and by an oppressive mode of recovery, they secured more than the original demand. At a meeting for the benefit of sufferers, held in London, an address was sent to the king, with a full statement of the case, in which they humbly requested the king to extend his favor and compassion toward the sufferers, either by proclamation or otherwise, as in his wisdom and clemency should seem most useful and convenient.

In the address, they quoted the following good deeds of several kings; and sincerely hoped he would, in his mercy, respite the numerous prisoners who were suffering in confinement on account of their principles, and duty toward their Creator.

“First: By King Charles the Second’s proclamation of grace in 1661, whereby many of our friends were released and set free.

“Secondly: By his letters patent (or pardon) in 1672, pursuant to his declaration of indulgence in the same year.

“Thirdly: By an act of Parliament, 25 Car. II., ch. 5, entitled, An act for the king’s most gracious and general pardon, pardoning contempts against the king, whereby many of the said people were discharged, and released out of prisons.

“Fourthly: Also by King James the Second, many were



released out of prisons, and relieved by divers commissions; and two general proclamation pardons, the one in 1685, and the other in 1688.

“Fifthly: By an act of gracious, general, and free pardon, in the second year of King William and Queen Mary, several were discharged for contempts and imprisonments.

Sixthly: And by thy late consort the Queen (on application made to her during thy absence), a poor innocent woman, who had been long a prisoner at Lancaster upon a fine, was released; which, as an intimation of the queen’s tender and merciful disposition, we very thankfully acknowledge, as we do also very kindly acknowledge the king’s late favorable inclination to discharge two of our friends, prisoners at Westmoreland, upon a petition presented by our friend, Daniel Quare.”

This petition was presented to the king by George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, John Taylor and Daniel Quare; the last mentioned person being well known to the king, they obtained easy access to his presence. They attended his Majesty to a private apartment, and when alone he asked: “At what place do you belong to, and of what congregations are you ministers?”

George Whitehead informed him that they were not settled as ministers or pastors over any particular congregations, but visited their meetings as directed by God; that they did not preach for a salary, but according to Christ’s command to his ministers, they received the gospel freely and they gave it freely. The king made no reply, but appeared very serious and satisfied with the answer. A copy of the petition was presented to Lord-keeper Somers, who received it courteously, and signified his consent to comply with their request, as far as the law would permit. In a few months, an act of grace was passed, through which about forty Friends, imprisoned on account of the non-payment of tithes, were restored to liberty.

Whilst King William was strenuously endeavoring to relieve the Friends from the sufferings and hardships to

which they were exposed, the clergy of the established Church were contriving a plan to bring them under the lash of a new penal law. The Bishop of London introduced a bill into the House of Lords, for the better payment of church-rates, small tithes and other church dues, whereby the penalties of the act of 32 Henry VIII., for the recovery of predial tithes, were extended to small tithes, repairing public places of worship, clerks' wages, and even the demands of the sexton; so that for the trifling demand of perhaps less than a shilling, any person might be subjected to the enormous expense of a suit in the ecclesiastical courts, and if the monition of the judge to pay the demand and costs was not obeyed, the prisoner was committed to the common jail, without bail or mainprize, as specified in the aforesaid act of Henry VIII., for predial tithes, with an addition, that the justices were authorized to grant warrants to distrain the goods of defendants in such cases, or imprison if no distress could be found.

This bill arrested the attention of the London meeting for sufferings, and they sent an address against its being made a law, to the committee to whose care the bill was consigned for consideration, the Bishop of London being chairman.

"What exceptions have you to make to the bill?" demanded the bishop, when George Whitehead and his friends waited on the committee with a copy of the address.

"The reason why we make exceptions," replied George Whitehead, "is the same that is given in the act of Parliament, 17 Charles I., for abolishing the star-chamber and high commission courts, it being conceived, with submission, that the same reasons may be objected to the present bill."

Exceptions were then submitted in writing, and the committee of Friends retired, after receiving very courteous and polite treatment from the temporal Lords.

In this year ROGER HAYDOCK died at his house at Penketh in Lancashire; he was fifty-three years old at the time 1696. of his death, and the year before went to Holland on a religious visit, where his ministry was blessed with

much good. After his death, his wife Eleanor said : " My spirit hath been and is bowed under a deep sense of my great loss and exercise in the removal of my dear husband, whom it hath pleased God in his wisdom to take away from me, who was comfort to my life, and joy to my days in this world, being given me of God, in great mercy and loving kindness ; and so he hath been enjoyed by me in thankfulness of heart to the close of that time God had appointed ; and now is taken from the world, with all its troubles and exercises, as also from all his labors and travels, which were great among the churches of Christ, and which with me have no small loss in his removal. But what shall I say ? Wise and good is the Lord, who doth what he will in heaven and in earth, and amongst his churches and his chosen. He can break and bind up—wound and heal—kill and make alive again, that the living may see his wonders, and magnify his power in all, through all, and over all, who is God eternal, blessed for ever. Amen."

She wrote an account of his life, in which she described how, in her young years, he had been to her a faithful minister of godliness, and afterwards became her husband. After describing his travels in the ministry of the gospel, she said, " That though his love to her was above all visibles, as the best of enjoyments he had in this world, yet she was not too dear to him to give up to serve the truth of God. I was made a blessing to him. He would often express it ; and truly so was he to me every day, every way, and in every respect. No tongue nor pen can relate the fulness of that comfort and joy we had in God, and one in another. Yet we find such hath been the pleasure of God concerning them he hath loved, to try them in the most near and dear enjoyments, that it might be manifest he was loved above all ; that no gifts may be preferred above the Giver ; but that he may be all in all, who is, and is to come, God, blessed for ever. And truly there hath been great care and watchfulness one over another, and over our own spirits, to see that our love, though great, was bounded and kept within its compass, the

Truth being its original, also the Alpha and Omega. Although it hath been the pleasure of God to try me, in the removal of so great a blessing from me, sure it is, that I may be the more inward to him, and have his love always in my remembrance, who gives and takes away, and in all bless his name. My soul travails that I may always follow his footsteps of self-denial in all things, that I may finish my course in this world, to the glory of God, as he did, and have my part in that mansion of glory with him eternal in the heavens; though it may be my lot to stay for a time in this world of troubles, yet I have hope in immortality and eternal blessedness, when time in this world shall be no more."

But it is impossible to give many extracts from this interesting work; we will therefore finish our notice of it by giving the concluding paragraph:

"Though I saw not his going away, yet I have seen in what he went, that it was full of zeal and fervency in the love of God, and life of righteousness. So in pure submission to the will of God, I conclude this short but true relation of my worthy, dear husband, whose name and memory is blessed, and will live, and be a sweet savor in the hearts of the righteous, through ages."

A treaty of peace was concluded this year at Ryswick, between England, France, and Holland, by which 1697. England was relieved from a long and expensive war, and King William acknowledged as king of Great Britain by Louis XIV. The king of France pledged himself not to disturb King William in the possession of his realms and government, or assist his enemies, or favor conspiracies against his person. The inhabitants vied with each other in congratulating the king, and the Friends, as well as the heads and Fellows of the Universities, and people of every society sent addresses to the throne which were received very graciously. The following is the grateful acknowledgment of the Society of Friends:

"May it please the King:

"Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in the

kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomsoever he will, hath by his overwhelming power and providence placed thee in dominion and dignity over these realms, and by his divine favor has signally preserved and delivered thee from many great and imminent dangers, and graciously turned the calamity of war into the desired mercy of peace: we heartily wish that we and all others concerned may be truly sensible, and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the same, that the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blessing.

“ And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in safety, it is cause of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and seasonable resolution effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality, righteousness being that which exalteth a nation. And as the king has been tenderly inclined to give ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects of different persuasions (of whose favors we have largely partaken), so we esteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the same, earnestly beseeching Almighty God to assist the king to prosecute all these his just and good inclinations, that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may be partaker of a lasting crown that will never fade away.

“ London, 7th of 11th month, 1697.”

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

**ALTHOUGH** the Society of Friends enjoyed the exemptions of the Act of Toleration, yet the clergy did not 1698. permit them to enjoy it for any length of time without molestation.

The Norfolk priests challenged some Friends in London to a public discussion, which they accepted; and being most too severe for them, the priests published two tracts, entitled: 1st. "A Brief Discovery," &c. 2d. "Some few of the Quakers' many horrid Blasphemies." These books, written to represent the principles of the Quakers blasphemous, met with suitable answers from George Whitehead, who refuted their acrimonious and injurious assertions; and the author delivered copies to all the members of Parliament, to remove any wrong impressions made by reading the other works.

The Society in London was deprived of the services of a very valuable member, in the decease of Charles Marshall. As a faithful servant, he went about doing good; but the few last years of his life were spent in or near London. To his brethren, who collected in his sick-chamber, he addressed himself in the following manner:

"I have loved the brethren; I have sought the unity and peace of the Church for these forty years, and to my great comfort never did anything tending to the breach thereof.

"Five things are weightily impressed upon my mind, warmly to recommend to Friends, which I desire may be communicated to them.

"The first is: That they gather down unto the immortal feed and word of life in themselves, and be exercised in it before

the Lord ; and duly prize, and set a right value upon, the many outward and inward blessings that the Lord has eminently bestowed upon them since the morning of the day of his blessed visitation ; there shall they grow, and be preserved in living freshness to him ; and the Lord will continue his mercies to them, and they shall not want his divine, refreshing presence in their meetings together before him.

“ The second thing is : That those Friends to whom the Lord hath given great estates, ought to cast their bread upon the waters, and do good therewith in their life-time ; for those that are enjoyers of such things, should see that they be good stewards thereof. Oh ! the many poor families such persons might be an help to ! How easily might they with a little assist many a family to live in the world ! And what a comfort would it be for such, to see the fruits of their charity in their life-time ! ”

His last words were—“ I have not handled the word of the Lord deceitfully, nor done the work negligently. I earnestly desire Friends may live in love, and keep in the unity of spirit, which is the bond of peace.”

As his last moments approached, with great composure of mind, he closed his own eyes ; the sting of death was taken away, and his spirit returned to God who gave it, on the fifteenth of the ninth month [September], in the sixty-second year of his age.

Nothing worthy of record took place this year, except the death of John Crook, whose name and services are 1699. not unknown to the reader. In 1654, at the age of thirty-seven, he was convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Friends through the ministry of William Dewsbury. For many years previous to his decease, he suffered great pain, and he might have said with Israel, “ I have been afflicted from my youth.” Besides the bodily affliction with which he was tried, he was not exempt from trials of another nature, in observing the deviation of some of his offspring from the ways of righteousness, but he would solace himself with the words of David : “ Although my

house be not so with God, yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant ordered in all things and sure."

Two months before his death he wrote an epistle to his children and grand-children, exhorting them to walk in truth, uprightness and honesty before the most high God. The epistle throughout contains good advice not only for the persons to whom it was immediately addressed, but to all who are treading the thorny path of youth and temptation. We extract a few of the passages.

"I advise you to keep a pure conscience, both towards God and man; for if that be defiled, hypocrisy and formality will deprive you of all comfortable feeling of God's presence, and then deadness and dryness will be your miserable portion.

"Be careful how you spend your precious time, for an account must be given of every idle word, though but few regard it; but foolish jesting, and vain talking, are said to grieve the spirit of God; read Eph. iv. 29, 30. But improve your time in prayer, religious exercises, &c.; and be diligent in your lawful callings; for 'the desire of the slothful man killeth him,' Prov. xxi. 25.

"Be careful what company you frequent, for a man is commonly known by the company he keeps, as much as by any one outward thing; and of your behavior in company; for I have found that a wise and sober deportment adds much to a man's reputation and credit in the world.

"Love the Holy Scriptures, preferring them to all other books whatsoever; and be careful to read them with a holy awe upon your spirits, lest your imaginations put constructions upon them, to your hurt; but exercise faith in the promise of Christ, who hath said, My spirit shall take of mine and show them unto you.

"Keep constantly to religious meetings amongst Friends; but look to your affections, that you respect not persons, but the power and life of truth, from whomsoever it comes.

"Love one another truly, manifesting your love by good counsel, and being helpful to each other on all occasions,



being good examples to all you converse with, especially to your children, and those of your own families, that pride and vanity may not be countenanced by you, but rather reprov- ed ; remembering while they are under your government you must give an account of the discharge of your duty to God towards them.

“ Be mindful of your latter end, and live as you would die, not knowing how soon your days may be finished in this world ; and while you do live in it, despise not the chasten- ings of the Lord ; whatsoever they be he is pleased to visit you withal. I have been afflicted from my youth up, both inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom I served provided for me, when all my outward relations forsook me, none of them giving me any portion to begin with in the world. This I speak, to let you know, I shall leave more outwardly, even to the least of you, than was left to me.

“ These things I commend unto you, out of true love to your souls, knowing how the vain mind of man little regards such advice as this I leave behind me ; but by this advice I show my true love to you all, desiring God’s blessing upon it, to whom I commit you all.”

He remained in complete possession of his faculties, although in the eighty-second year of his age, until the time of his death, which took place on the twenty-sixth of the fourth month [April].

By his warfare against Friends, George Keith ingratiated himself into favor with the episcopal clergy, and 1700. about the beginning of this year was ordained a vicar in that Church, by the Bishop of London. Some one, of what persuasion we do not know, determined to show his inconsistency to the world, and made a collection of his former writings against the National Church and its clergy, which the author entitled : “ Mr. George Keith’s Account of a National Church and Clergy, humbly pre- sented to the Bishop of London.” To this work was ap- pended some queries he once wrote, relative to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. A copy of it was sent to the Bishop

of London, with these words of the Apostle; "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." That the Episcopalians entertained great hopes at this time, that their new convert might be of some service to the Church in bringing others to their communion, appears from the following extract from Bishop Burnet's *Church History*, vol. ii., page 144, 1700.

"The Quakers have had a great breach made among them by one George Keith, a Scotchman, with whom I had my education at Aberdeen; he had been thirty-six years among them; he was esteemed the most learned man that ever was in that sect; he was well versed both in the Oriental tongues, in philosophy and mathematics. After he had been above thirty years in high esteem among them, he was sent to Pennsylvania to have the chief direction of the education of their youth. In those parts he said, he first discovered that, which had been always denied to him, or so disguised, that he did not suspect it; but being far out of reach, and in a place where they were masters, they spoke out their mind plainer, and it appeared to him that they were Deists, and that they turned the whole doctrine of the Christian religion into allegories; chiefly those which relate to the death and resurrection of Christ, and the reconciliation of sinners to God by virtue of his cross; he, being a true Christian, set himself with great zeal against this, upon which they grew weary of him, and sent him back to England. At his return, he set himself to read many of their books, and then he discovered the mystery, which was so hid from him that he had not observed it. Upon this, he opened a new meeting, and, by a printed summons, he called the whole party to come and see the proof that he had to offer, to convince them of these errors. Few Quakers came to his meetings, but great multitudes of other people flocked about him; he brought the Quakers' books with him, and read such passages out of them as convinced his hearers that he had not charged them falsely; he continued these meetings, being still in outward appearance a Quaker, for some years, till having prevailed

as far as he saw any probability of success, he laid aside their exterior, and was reconciled to the Church, and is now in holy orders among us, and likely to do good service in undeceiving and reclaiming some of those misled enthusiasts."

This paragraph of the bishop's was answered by Alexander Arscott, in the Appendix to his "Serious Considerations," &c.; he proved conclusively that George Keith was not thirty-six years among the Quakers—that he was not *sent* to Pennsylvania—that he was not *sent* back by them, and that the whole article was untrue and false. In closing this answer, Arscott mentions the following circumstance:

"The bishop has told us, after a long detail of his performances, that he is now (in the year 1700) in holy orders amongst us, and likely to do good service in undeceiving and reclaiming some of those misled enthusiasts. But what if it should appear after all that he deeply repented of what he had done? I shall relate what has come to my knowledge, and leave the reader to judge of the truth of it. The fact as related is this; that one Richard Hayler, of Sussex, made a visit to George Keith on his death-bed, which visit was kindly taken by him; and among other things that passed, George Keith expressed himself in these words: 'I wish I had died when I was a Quaker, for then I am sure it would have been well with my soul.' This I have from a person now living, of unquestioned reputation, who had it from the widow of the said Richard Hayler, and her sister, both since deceased, but persons of unblemished characters. I hope, therefore, I may be excused in this one instance, at a time when George Keith's performances against the Quakers are so much magnified by the Bishop of London's defender, as well as Dr. Burnet, in letting the world know that there is reason to believe that this conduct of George Keith at last became his burden, and that he himself did not approve of it."

This year closed the life of the unhappy King James, who

died at the palace of St. Germain's, in France, on 1701. the seventeenth of the ninth month [September].

After his death, the French king proclaimed his son king of Great Britain.

During King William's absence in Holland, Parliament settled the succession to the crown on Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her heirs, in case of the death of William and the Princess of Denmark without issue, so that the crown might be placed entirely among Protestants. Addresses were sent up to the throne from all quarters, expressing gratitude for this resolution, and loyalty to the king and the house of Hanover. As usual, on such occasions, the Friends presented the king with a congratulatory address, through their committee, George Whitehead, William Mead, and Francis Camfield.

On the death of the king of Spain, Louis of France placed his grandson, the duke of Anjou, on the throne of 1702. Spain, and seemed determined to secure to the son of James the possession of the crown of England on the death of King William. Of this resolution of Louis, William notified Parliament, who promised to assist him to the utmost in their power, and to maintain the succession of the crown in the Protestant line. An abjuration was also drawn up, in which it was declared, that the aforesaid pretended prince, who suffered himself to be called James the Third, King of England, &c., had no right or claim to the crown of that kingdom or any dominions appertaining thereto. In the early part of the third month [March], King William died at Kensington, from the effects of an accident he received whilst on a hunting excursion. The day of his death was one of affliction to his subjects; they loved him for the good he had done their suffering nation, and perhaps no king ever received so much voluntary homage as William the Third, King of Great Britain.

Princess Anne, sister of the late Queen Mary, was proclaimed Queen of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, &c. Anne accepted with heartfelt satisfaction the proffered crown,

and confirmed the ministers and officers in their respective stations. She also wrote to the States General of the United Netherlands, that she would keep to the alliances made with the States by the deceased king, her brother.

In this year died Margaret, the widow of George Fox, in her eighty-seventh year. She was the daughter of John Askew of Marsh Grange, in the parish of Dalton in Lancashire, a gentleman of an ancient family and good estate, and conspicuous for piety and charity. Margaret was married before she attained the age of eighteen years, to Thomas Fell, who was bred a lawyer, appointed a justice of the peace, elected to Parliament, appointed vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaster, was a judge in one of the Welsh courts, all of which offices he discharged with wisdom, justice, moderation and mercy. In this history we have seen the means used to exasperate him against Friends, on account of the conviction of his wife and family during his absence; but when he came home, the words of George Fox dispelled the cloud from his brow, and although he was prejudiced against the sect, he still continued to treat his wife with his usual complacency and affection. On the death of Judge Fell, and after a widowhood of eleven years, she was married, with the consent of all her relatives, to George Fox, to whom she was a kind, tender, and affectionate wife. She was a minister of God to a sinful world, and in that office she discharged her duty towards mankind, with an eye always upon the throne of judgment. Previous to her death she wrote a book entitled, "The Call of the Jews out of Babylon," which she dedicated to the famous Manasseh Ben Israel, and charged him, as he would answer it before God, to cause it to be read among his brethren.

George Keith obtaining no settled place to preach, the Bishops sent him as a missionary to convince the "bigoted Quakers of Pennsylvania," but he did not make much by the mission so far as religion was concerned, and on his return he received a very nice living in the parish of Edburton in Sussex, every year drawing his salary of one hundred and twenty pounds.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

WHEN Anne ascended the throne, the Friends congratulated her with an address, in which they sincerely hoped her reign might be blessed with many happy days, and to all her subjects she would extend that kindness and liberality of spirit so prominent in the many noble actions of her deceased and lamented brother. She received it very kindly and said to the committee: "I thank you for your address, and assure you of my protection."

In less than a month, England and Holland proclaimed war against France, and the parliament of the former country endeavored to repeal the act of toleration to dissenters; but the queen issued a proclamation against the rescission of this excellent law, for which the Friends, in yearly meeting assembled, sent her the following address:

"May it please the Queen:

"We, thy peaceable and dutiful subjects, met from most parts of thy dominions, at our usual yearly meeting for the promotion of piety and charity, being deeply affected with thy free and noble resolution in thy late speech at the prorogation of the parliament, to preserve and maintain the Act of Toleration, for the ease and quiet of all thy people, could not but in gratitude esteem ourselves engaged, both to thank Almighty God for that favorable influence, and to renew and render our humble and hearty acknowledgments to the Queen for the same, assuring her (in behalf of all our friends), of our sincere affection and Christian obedience.

"And we beseech God, the fountain of wisdom and goodness, so to direct all thy counsels and undertakings, that righteousness which exalts a nation, and mercy and justice that

establish a throne, may be the character of thy reign, and the blessings of these kingdoms under it."

When William Penn placed the above in the queen's hands, she said: "Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, that you and your friends may be assured of my protection."

In this year, Ambrose Rigge, of Rygate in Surrey, departed this life after a long and suffering illness. There 1704. is something sweet in the last words of this good and benevolent man, who had sacrificed the comforts of a happy home, and the affection of parents and relations, to win that fadeless wreath which encircles the brow of those who have "fought the good fight." Around his bed stood his weeping friends, offering the consolation of religion to alleviate his pains, and as the Angel of Death summoned him hence, he stretched forth his arms, and said with a happy smile, "I am going where the weary are at rest."

In the dying advice which he left his friends, we select the following:

"The way to be rich and happy in this world, is first to learn righteousness; for such were never forsaken in any age, nor their seed begging their bread. And charge all parents of children, that they keep their children low and plain in meat, drink, apparel and everything else, and in due subjection to all just and reasonable commands, and let them not appear above the real estates of their parents, nor get up in pride and high things, though their parents have plentiful estates; for that is of dangerous consequence to their future happiness; and let all who profess the truth, both young and old, rich and poor, see that they walk according to the rule and discipline of the gospel, in all godly conversation and honesty, that none may suffer wrong by them in any matter or thing whatsoever; that as the Apostle exhorted, 'they may owe nothing to any man, but to love one another; for love out of a pure heart is the fulfilling the law,' which law commands to do justly to all men. He that hath but little, let him live according to that little, and appear to be what in

truth he is ; for above all, God abhors the hypocrite, and he that makes haste to be rich falls into snares, temptations, and many noisy and hurtful lusts which drown many in perdition ; and the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some have lusted after, they have erred from the faith, and compassed themselves about with many sorrows."

Anne Camm, whom we have mentioned by the name of Anne Audland, died at an advanced age during the 1705. summer of this year. She was born in 1627, in the parish of Kendal in Westmoreland, and received from her father, Richard Newby, an excellent education. In the year 1650, she was married to John Audland, and in 1652 they were both convinced by George Fox. Her husband, John Audland, died in the year 1664, and two years after she was married to Thomas Camm, also a minister in the Society. On her deathbed she enjoined her husband to "warn all, but especially the rich, to keep low and not to be high-minded ; for humility and holiness is the badge of our profession." She prayed the Lord to help her through the agony of death, and exclaimed, O my God ! O my God ! thou hast not forsaken me, blessed be thy name for ever ! O my blessed Saviour, that suffered for me and all mankind, great pains in thy holy body upon the cross, remember me thy poor handmaid in this my bodily affliction. My trust is in thee, my hope is only in thee, my dear Lord. Oh come, come, dear Lord Jesus, come quickly, receive my soul to thee, I yield it up, help me now in my bitter pangs."

Her last public appearance in the ministry was at a monthly meeting at Kendal, the second of the ninth month [September], 1705, at which time, though far advanced in years, and affected with the bodily infirmity attendant on old age, yet her spiritual abilities maintained their usual vigor.

She delivered a farewell sermon with affecting energy, and pleaded with the congregation to be faithful and diligent in the service of the Lord, that they might receive their reward with those to whom God hath said, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou the kingdom of Heaven."



The union of England and Scotland was the favorite measure of James the First; it also received some  
 1707. attention from King William, but was not finally effected until this year.

Scotland was threatened with an invasion by the pretended Prince of Wales, but he failed in the attempt.  
 1708. When the Union was finally accomplished, Friends testified their affection to the queen by an address, signed by fourteen members of the London yearly meeting; and when George Whitehead placed it in her hands, he said: "We heartily wish the Queen's health and happiness. We are come to present an address from our yearly meeting, which we could have desired might have been more early and seasonably timed, but could not, because our said meeting was but the last week; and therefore now hope the queen will favorably accept our address."

"I thank you very kindly for your address, and I assure you of my protection; you may depend upon it," replied the queen.

"We thankfully acknowledge," said George Whitehead, "that God, by his power and special providence, hath defended the queen against the evil designs of her enemies, having made the queen an eminent instrument for the good of this nation and realm of Great Britain, in maintaining the toleration and the liberty we enjoy in respect to our consciences, against persecution. Which liberty being grounded upon this reason in the late king's reign, 'For uniting the Protestant subjects in interest and affection;' the union of Great Britain now settled, tends to the strength and safety thereof; for in union is the strength and stability of a nation or kingdom; and without union, no nation or people can be safe, but are weak and unstable. The succession of the crown being fixed and established in the Protestant line, must needs be very acceptable to all true Protestant subjects.

"And now, O queen, that the Lord may preserve and defend thee under all thy great care and concern for the safety and good of this nation and kingdom of Great Bri

tain, and that the Lord 'may bless and preserve thee to the end, is our sincere desire."

The queen again promised her protection, and the committee withdrew from her presence.

On the twenty-second of the seventh month [July], John Bank, a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, died at Yeovil. He exhorted those around him to constantly attend their meetings of worship, and said: "Although I am weak in body, and know not whether I may live much longer, yet I am strong in the Lord and the power of his might, and have nothing to do but to die." To a young man who came with some friends to see him, he said: "Thou art the young man who lives at Somerton, lately convinced of the blessed truth! The Lord be with thee; and I desire thee, in the love of God, to give up in obedience to the working of the Spirit of God in thy heart, and then he will do great things for thee; and do not thou stumble at the cross, for the more thou look'st at it, and puts it off, the harder will it be to take it up." With his dying breath, he exclaimed: "It is well with me I have nothing to do but to die, and I shall end in the truth as I began."

In the year 1656, WILLIAM CROUCH first began to attract some attention in the Society. He suffered many trials, hardships, and imprisonments, for the faith in which he lived and died. He terminated a well-spent life, at the age of eighty-two, on the thirteenth of the eleventh month [November], of this year. His death was a true picture of that verse in Psalms which says: "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

In the early part of this year, a bill was introduced into Parliament, and eventually passed, in which it was enacted, "That if any persons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify themselves by taking the Sacraments, shall ever resort to a meeting of dissenters during the time of their continuing in office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence, and be disqualified for any

office for the future, till they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to the Church, and have not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year."

Richard Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, died in poverty, at the advanced age of ninety years.

1712. Once the Protector of England, now the outcast of misfortune—such is the mutability of human affairs: one moment in luxury and power, and the next writhing in misery and wretchedness. How many will acknowledge the truthfulness of this picture, and how many have done it already? Men who have toiled for the glory, renown, and honor of this fickle world, who have sacrificed an immortality, that their names might live a few hours, and expire with the next revolution of the wheel of fortune! We have many sad incidents in history, not only of men, but of nations, that have risen with all the brightness of the meteor, yet ungodliness crushed them to the earth, and only their names are remembered: the sites of their proud cities only marked by the hand of God—their walls crumbled—their busy citizens mouldered into dust, and their souls gone before the great tribunal of the Almighty!

In this year peace was concluded between England and France, and the Friends of the London yearly meeting sent an address to the queen, congratulating her on the prospect of enjoying the happiness of peace in her dominions for years to come, which she received very kindly, assuring the committee again that whilst she was on the throne of England, they should enjoy all the blessings of the present laws, and worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.

In the summer of this year Sophia, Electoral Princess of Brunswick Lunenburg, on whom fell the succession

1714. of the crown of Great Britain, died after a short illness.

Two months after Queen Anne also departed this life, and her death was deeply regretted by the whole nation. Immediately after her decease, the privy council assembled and deputed the Earl of Dorset to inform George, Prince

Electors of Brunswick Lunenburg, of his succession to the throne of Great Britain. He instantly departed for England, and arrived in London on the twentieth of the ninth month [September]. He declared before the ministers his firm resolve to maintain the toleration in favor of the Protestant dissenters, by which they were relieved from all apprehensions. The Friends, through George Whitehead, presented an address to the king, thanking him for his determination to protect the Protestants, and wishing him, if in accordance with Divine will, a long and happy reign. After the king read the address, George Whitehead said, "Thou art welcome to us, King George, we heartily wish thee health and happiness, and thy son the prince also. King William III. was a happy instrument in putting a stop to persecution, by promoting toleration, which being intended for the uniting the king's Protestant subjects in interest and affection, it hath so far that effect, as to make them more kind to one another, even among the different persuasions, than they were when persecution was on foot. We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, under the king and his government, is according to our principles and practice. May King Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compassion to the oppressed; and the state of the righteous ruler commended by King David, viz.: 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.'"

In the eleventh month [November], Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, the author of the History of the Reformation in England, died in London. With some few exceptions, his writings were very moderate in tone, especially "The Apology for the Church of England," published in Holland in 1688, and soon after at London. In this apology he uses the following language: "I will not deny but many

of the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England; I cannot deny it, and I am sure I will never justify it. And I will boldly say this, that if the Church of England, after she is got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sour men, she will be abandoned both by God and man, and will set both heaven and earth against her."

In the fifth month [May], of this year, the term of the "Act for the Quakers' solemn affirmation" expired, and on 1715. the seventh of the same month a bill was brought into the House of Commons, and five days after, it was passed, making the act perpetual. When submitted to the House of Lords, in the sixth month [June], they made an addition to the bill, granting not only the favor to those who desired it in England, but extended it to Scotland and other places. At their next yearly meeting Friends expressed their gratitude in these words: "The Lord our God, who for the sake of his heritage hath often heretofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the sea, hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dispersed the cloud threatening a storm, which lately seemed to hang over us; which together with the favor God hath given us in the eyes of the king, and the government, for the free enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, calling for true thankfulness to him, and humbly to pray to Almighty God for the king and those in authority, for his and their safety and defence, is certainly our Christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively as a grateful people."

Although before the passage of this act the Society applied for an alteration in the form of the affirmation, yet they did not succeed until five years after it had become a law.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

NOTWITHSTANDING the death of Louis XIV., the pretended king who relied upon the assistance of France, 1716. invaded Scotland, but being defeated, he returned again to the court of St. Germain's. The yearly meeting of Friends appointed a committee to deliver an address to the king, returning thanks to him for his wise laws and conduct, and assuring him of the duty and affection they entertained towards him personally and his government.

An excellent epistle to Friends in all parts of the world, was issued by the yearly meeting of this year, from 1717. which we will make a few of the most important extracts.

“ Touching the education of Friends' children, this meeting hath a concern. We think it our duty to recommend unto you the necessity that there is of a care in preserving of them in plainness of speech and habit, suitable to our holy profession ; and also, that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavor wanting to instruct them in the principle of truth which we profess, that thereby they, being sensible of the operation thereof in themselves, may find not only their spirits softened and tendered, fit to receive the impressions of the Divine image, but may also from thence find themselves under a necessity to appear clear in the several branches of our Christian testimony. And as this will be most beneficial to them, being the fruits of conviction, so it is the most effectual way of propagating the same throughout the Churches of Christ. And there being times and seasons wherein their spirits are (more than others) disposed to have those things impressed upon them ; so we desire that all

parents and others concerned in the oversight of youth, might wait in the fear of God to know themselves divinely qualified for that service, that in his wisdom they may make use of every such opportunity, which the Lord shall put into their hands. And we do hereby warn, and advise Friends in all places to flee every appearance of evil, and keep out of pride and following the vain fashions and custom of this world.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Finally, dear friends and brethren, be careful to walk unblamable in love and peace among yourselves, and towards all men in Christian charity, and be humbly thankful to the Lord our most gracious God, for the favor he hath given us, in the eyes of the king and civil government, in the peaceable enjoyment of our religious and Christian liberties under them; and the God of peace (we trust) will be with you to the end.

“ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirits. Amen.”

In this year, the high churchmen met with another mortification in the repeal of the “ Act against occasional conformity and the growth of schism,” which act they had obtained during their predominancy in the latter end of Queen Anne’s reign.

William Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania, died at his country-seat, Rushcomb, near T’wyford, in Buckinghamshire. Since 1712, he had three apoplectic fits, and notwithstanding the intermission of his intellectual faculties, and the failure of his memory, his love for religion and sense of religious enjoyments continued to the last. In the year 1716 some of his friends, who came to visit him, taking their leave, he said, “ My love is with you, the Lord preserve you, and remember me in the everlasting covenant.” Thus, in the absence of mental powers, and in the sweet repose of the evening of life, his piety and religion were the predominating qualities. He died on the thirtieth of the fifth month [May], in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and his body was interred on

the fifth of the sixth month [June], at Jordan's, in Buckinghamshire. If fighting the good fight of faith, and passing through the ordeal victorious, entitle the victor to the crown of righteousness, can we doubt of his being made a partaker of the promise of Christ?—Rev. iii. 21. "To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, as I also overcame and am set down with my father in his throne."

George Whitehead was born in Sine-begg in the parish of Orton, in the county of Westmoreland, in the year 1636, 1723. of honest and respectable parents, who gave him a good education, at the school of Blencoe, in Cumberland, where he made great progress in classical literature; his parents were Presbyterians, and he was taught the belief of that sect, but when only fourteen years of age, he observed their life and conversation was a sad contrast to the purity of their professions, and longing for a more substantial religion, he at last became a member of the Society of Friends. Sustained by the consciousness of a well-spent life, he passed the last infirmities of age, with Christian patience and resignation to the Divine will, "desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ," he said, "the sting of death is taken away." A few hours before his death, he said; "I have taken a review of my life, my labors and travels, which I have gone through since my conviction, and I look upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admire how the presence of the Lord has carried me through all."

On the eighth day of the third month [March], he departed this life, having arrived at the advanced age of eighty-seven, and was buried with the old friends of many of his trials, in Bunhill fields.

Parliament would pass no law against the extortion of tithes, and Friends suffered severely in consequence of these ecclesiastical demands. In the year 1736, a catalogue of sufferings throughout the kingdom, was published in London, from which we glean the following statistical information. Prosecutions in the Court of Exchequer, 659; in the Ecclesiastical Court, 367; in all other Courts, 154; total



1180; of these, 302 were imprisoned, and nine died in their cells. These prosecutions, though frequently commenced for trivial sums, from 4*d.* to 5*s.*, and a greater part of them for sums not exceeding 40*s.*, were attended with such heavy costs and rigorous executions, that above L.800 was taken from ten persons, where the original demands upon all of them collectively did not amount to L.15.

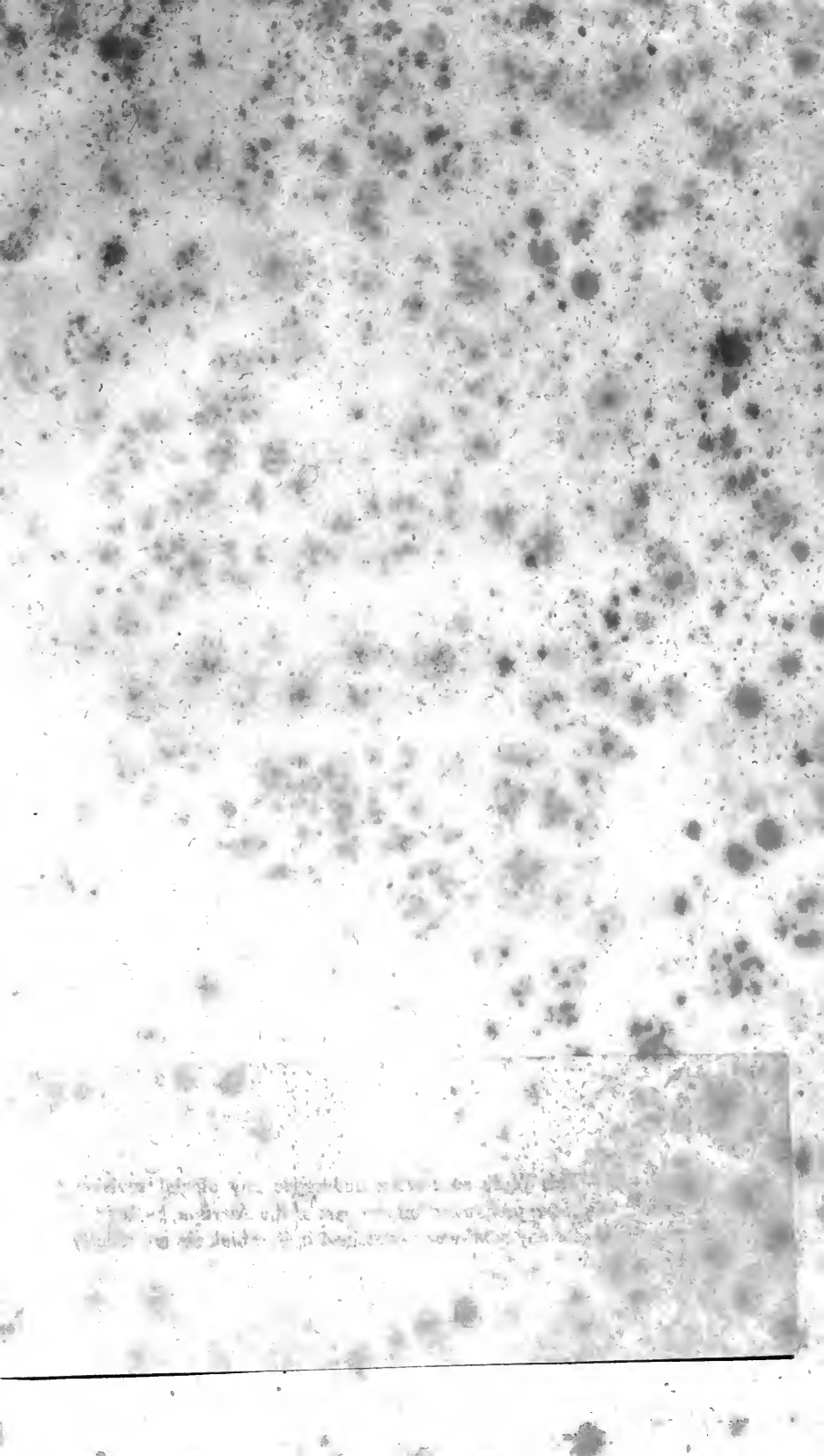
A bill of relief was brought into the House of Commons, but the clergy made strong manifestations of their opposition, by publishing three pamphlets, said to be the productions of the bishops. One of them was called, "The Country Parson's plea against the Quaker's bill for Tithes," &c., which received a copious and spirited answer by one who styled himself "A member of the House of Commons," afterwards discovered to be Lord Hervey. But the bishops did not trust their cause solely to these pamphlets. Circular letters were written to the clergy in all parts of the kingdom, and numerous petitions from the clergy of Middlesex and elsewhere against the bill, were sent to Parliament. Counsel was heard in behalf of the petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which, after a long debate, was finally passed and sent up to the House of Lords.

After the second reading, a motion was made by Lord Hinton to commit the bill, which motion was supported by Lords Hervey and Carteret, the Duke of Argyle and Earl of Ily, and opposed by the Bishop of Salisbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lords Hardwick and Lovell—the bill was, however, lost by a majority of nineteen. This was the last effort to extinguish the forcible collection of tithes from dissenters, and it was only lost by the strenuous and united exertions of the clergy, for amongst the majority we find the names of fifteen bishops, three of whom had publicly opposed the principles of Friends, in pamphlets and public prints.

With the record of this last struggle for the abolishment of laws for the forcible collection of tithes, we conclude Part I. of this History. We have beheld an humble man, in the common walks of life, selected by God as an instrument

for preaching to a sinful world the principle of pure and primitive Christianity, which was fading away before the Simoom's breath of pernicious systems, idle ceremonies and idolatrous forms. George Fox was a man of undaunted courage, remarkable disinterestedness, inflexible integrity, undisguised sincerity, unacquainted with the doctrine of the schools; and with a power and authority which the schools cannot convey, speaking the language of experience, and of a heart versed in the works of sanctification, he directed men to a principle in their own hearts, which, if duly attended to, would introduce rectitude of mind, simplicity of manners, a life adorned with every Christian virtue and peace, the effect of righteousness, which is the hope of heaven. We have beheld him unshaken and undismayed amid the combined powers of severe persecution, the greatest contempt and the keenest ridicule. Nor need we withhold the meed of praise from his cotemporary colleagues, who freely disseminated principles conducive to the present and everlasting well-being of mankind, with honest simplicity and success. They discharged their duty with sincerity, imitating the self-denying example of the Apostle, when he said: "I came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God; for I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified. And my speech and my preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

THE END.







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